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A SELECTION

FROM THE

PAPERS

36534
a.c.

OF THE

EARLS OF MARCHMONT,

IN THE POSSESSION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE SIR GEORGE HENRY ROSE.

ILLUSTRATIVE OF EVENTS

FROM

1685 TO 1750.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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PAPERS

OF

ALEXANDER EARL OF MARCHMONT.

Alexander Earl of Marchmont to the Earl of Chesterfield[1].

Redbraes Castle[2], Sept. 13th, 1733.

MY DEAR LORD,

I READ to-day with great pleasure the news of your marriage to my Lady Walsingham. I wish you all the joy and happiness your own heart can desire. I know letters of this sort are looked upon as formal, and of course; I beg you would not do so by this. Nobody can have a greater share of whatever concerns you than I have, nor is with truer esteem and respect, my dear Lord,

Your most faithful, and most obedient,

Humble servant.

I must beg to make my compliments to my Lady.

[1] The marriage of the Earl of Chesterfield was to the Countess of Walsingham, niece and heiress of the Duchess of Kendal, left-handed wife to George the First. Lord Orford says, that she was believed to be daughter to George the First. Lord Chesterfield was ambassador in Holland in 1728; in 1730, Lord Steward; dismissed in 1733; in 1745, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and ambassador in Holland; in 1746, Secretary of State. He resigned in 1748; he was K. G.

[2] The seat of the Earl of Marchmont in Berwickshire.

The Earl of Chesterfield to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

London, Oct. 5th, 1733.

My dear Lord,

I received your letter of the 13th September by the post, and just now Lord Grange[1] has delivered me that of the 29th August. I will not take up your time with any compliments to you upon the part you are so good as to take in whatever concerns me; any thing of that kind, I am persuaded, would be as unnecessary with you, as it is inconsistent with that real zeal and truth with which you know I belong to you.

I am glad the prospect of your elections is so good, but I hope it will not be bragged of. The court should, if possible, be lulled into a security upon that score; and I could wish our friends would rather seem to despond than discover their strength, which the court has always means in their hands to lessen when they once know where it is. The ministry are exceedingly perplexed both with their foreign and domestic affairs; their elections promise ill for 'em everywhere. The Duke of Newcastle[2] will probably be beaten in Sussex; the Duke of Dorset[3] most certainly will in Kent, and so of very many

[1] The Honourable James Erskine, brother to the Earl of Mar, who headed the rebellion of 1715; a lord of Session. (See Note to p. 18.)

[2] Secretary of State.

[3] Then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

other places, where the court used formerly always to carry it.

Their foreign affairs are still worse; the French are at last most certainly in earnest, and have lately concluded an offensive alliance with the King of Sardinia[1]. The Spanish armament is avowedly intended for Italy, and by this time, I believe, the French army has passed the Rhine. France, Spain, and the Emperor severally claim our guarantees, each asserting the other to be the aggressor; in this difficult situation the ministers will, I believe, call the parliament pretty early in November, in order to have their sanction for whatever part they take, and to have it supposed to be by the advice of Parliament, a point which very well deserves our consideration how to act in it.

In these circumstances, the ministers, I think, cannot hold it long, unless they are again supported by those miracles that hitherto have been wrought in their favour upon every crisis.

I know very little of Lord Grange, who will give your Lordship this letter, and his general character is a very good one: however, I must acquaint you, that he has been frequently with the ministers, and, I am informed, is by no means ill with Lord Islay[2].

[1] This refers to the war occasioned by the interference of the Emperor in the election of Augustus the Third, King of Poland, which Austria had to sustain alone.

[2] Lord Justice-General in 1710 for life; Keeper of the Privy Seal of Scotland in 1721; and of its Great Seal in 1733. He long managed the affairs of Scotland, and became Duke of Argyle in 1743.

You will make what use of this hint you think proper, either to try him more, or trust him less; but I beg you will not mention it as coming from me.

If the Parliament should meet before Christmas, I take it for granted you will be in town for the first meeting; but if it should not meet till the usual time after Christmas, I still think we ought all to be in town a fortnight or three weeks before, to take our measures together.

I am, with the greatest truth and respect,

My dear Lord,

Your most faithful, humble servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

From the Duke of Hamilton, the Marquess of Tweeddale, the Earl of Aberdeen, the Earl of Marchmont, and the Earl of Strathmore, to the Dukes of Queensberry, Montrose, and Roxburgh.

My Lords,

This letter is to give your Lordships an account of the meeting of the Peers at Edinburgh[1], which

[1] This letter refers to the precautionary measures taken in Scotland by the government, with a view to the approaching general election of 1734, and which were of a most objectionable character, especially as affecting the choice of the representative Peers.

began the 22d of November, and of the result of it. Our meeting was not very numerous, which, we conceive, will not be very material. Some of our friends were sick, some at a great distance, others we did not think fit to desire to come. We have parted unanimous in every point, all perfectly pleased with the cause, and with one another.

In the first place, we all agreed that it was absolutely necessary to find some band of union to tie us together, such a one as might induce other peers to join us. After mature deliberation, and after consideration of several Acts of Parliament of Scotland against leagues and associations, &c., we agreed upon the inclosed paper as not liable to the exceptions the minister might endeavour to make against our conduct, and the manner of it, which paper we submit to your Lordships' consideration, and the opinion of our friends in England.

In the second place, we were all of opinion, that after the arrival at London of the Lords, our friends, who have seats in Parliament, this paper, or some other paper of the same nature, should be signed there by as many of our friends, Peers of Scotland, as may be, and forthwith sent down to Edinburgh by an express messenger, there to be signed by our other friends, and to be afterwards dispatched in different instruments to the different corners of Scotland, for other Lords to sign. We conceive that it will have a very good effect to see so many considerable families appear at once united together for

supporting the rights of the peerage, and the freedom of Parliament, and the liberties of their country.

At one of our meetings there were some Lords thought, that there might be Lords disposed to join us, who would scruple to do it unless there was some declaration made as to the manner in which we pretended to proceed at the ensuing election of sixteen[1]. There were great inconveniences found of putting any such declaration into any paper, that was to appear in the world. At last an expedient was proposed. We have declared our opinion what ought to be the manner of our proceeding at the ensuing election, a copy of which is here inclosed, which has perfectly satisfied every body.

My Lords, we think ourselves obliged to take notice to you, that, in our several conferences, we have had many opportunities to hear of many extraordinary practices, used by a certain Lord[2] during the course of this summer, to influence the elections of Lords and Commons; money given to many, promised to more; offers of pensions, places, civil and military preferments, acts of grace, reversals of attainders; in short, my Lords, by money, promises, or threats, most of the Peers of Scotland have been attempted. The conditions his Lordship required were, supporting what he was pleased to call the King's list, and voting for it, and using what interest

[1] Scots representative Peers. [2] Lord Islay.

the persons tempted might have in the different shires and boroughs of Scotland, in favour of such persons as his Lordship did or should recommend to them; and that these things have been done in a barefaced manner.

Your Lordships will certainly be sensible how very necessary it is, that there should be a constant correspondence between London and Edinburgh. We are now settling it as far as Newcastle; we hope our friends above will take care to settle it between Newcastle and London, and let us know the names of their correspondents at Newcastle; and, before we leave Scotland, we propose to appoint a certain number of persons, to keep a constant regular correspondence with London, and with the different corners of this country, that we may have intelligence of what is doing here, and the people below may not be kept in ignorance of what is passing above.

We, that have seats in Parliament, propose to be at London about the 1st of January. Upon the whole matter, my Lords, we think there is a good spirit raised and rising in this country, and that we have a very fair prospect of overcoming all the difficulties that lie in our way, if it was not for the might of the Treasury that will certainly be employed against us. The minister knows very well of what importance to him the point in question is; could we but fight with equal arms, the battle would be a short one; but, with all his advantages, with the

spirit that is, we do not despair to get the better of the mercenary troops.

We are, my Lords,

Your Lordships' most humble, and

Most obedient servants,

Edinburgh, Dec. 1, 1733.

H . . . N and B . . . . N[1].
T . . . E.
A . . . N.
M . . . T.
St . . . E.

To their Graces the Dukes of Queensberry,
Montrose, and Roxburgh.

Inclosure in the preceding Letter.

[Copy of the opinion referred to.]

We are of opinion, that a nomination of sixteen Peers to sit in the parliament of Great Britain, as representing the peerage of Scotland, by any minister, is contrary both to the letter and spirit of the twenty-second Article of the Treaty of Union; and that such nomination would have a direct tendency to destroy the freedom of parliament, and, in consequence, the rights and liberties of the island;

And that such a nomination is highly injurious to the honour and interest of the Peers of Scotland, who have an undoubted right to an open and free election.

[1] These signatures must be Hamilton and Brandon, Tweeddale, Aberdeen, Marchmont, Strathmore.

[Copy of the resolution referred to.]

The meaning of the Lords who are against any nomination of sixteen by any minister to represent the Peers of Scotland, and are for a free and open election, is, that the said nomination should be by a majority of the Peers, who shall concur in this measure.

H . . . N and B . . N [1].	B . . . E.
St . . . E.	G . . . W.
Tw. . . E.	D . . . D.
A . . . N.	M . . . T.
K . . . E.	

Alexander Earl of Marchmont to the Earl of Chesterfield.

Redbraes Castle, December 2d, 1733.

My dear Lord,

We have had a meeting of some of our friends, though not a numerous one. The absence of several of our peers, who are in England, together with the season of the year, hindered several.

To remove these inconveniencies, and to bring those that may be wavering to determine themselves,

[1] These signatures must be, Hamilton and Brandon, Strathmore, Tweeddale, Aberdeen, Kincardine, Bruce, Glasgow, Dundonald, Marchmont.

we have drawn a paper to shew our opinions concerning our elections of peers, to be sent up to be signed by our friends the peers at London, and then by such of the peers here as wish well to the liberties of their country and the honour of the peerage.

We are sure of Lord Grange's friendship and interest; great pains is and has been taken to create jealousies, and to divide; I hope with little success.

There has been great pains taken by the agent here; money given, promises of more money, of acts of grace, of reversals of attainders made, threats used, and what not, that invention could reach. Those, that till now have been known and declared enemies to the present establishment, are caught by them; if it is safer, or better for it, those concerned most ought to determine.

I hope to have the honour to kiss your hands at London by the first week in January; till then, I am, with the greatest respect,

My dear Lord,
Your most faithful and obedient
Humble servant.

To their Graces the Dukes of Queensberry, Montrose, and Roxburgh[1].

GRANGE.

Earl of Winchelsea,
Duke of Montrose,
William Pulteney,
William Cleland[2],
Earl of Strathmore.

ABERDEEN.

Lord Bathurst,
Lord Gower,
Duke of Montrose,
Duke of Roxburgh.

TWEEDDALE.

Duke of Montrose,
Duke of Roxburgh.

STAIR.

Earl of Chesterfield,
To William Pulteney, Esq., at his house in Arlington-street, London,
Earl of Buchan,
Duke of Montrose.

MARCHMONT.

Duke of Montrose,
Earl of Chesterfield,
William Pulteney.

[1] This paper indicates what persons were to be written to on the subject of the concert established at Edinburgh, and by whom.

[2] Mr. William Cleland will be again mentioned in these papers. He was a Scotsman; he served under Lord Rivers in Spain, and was afterwards a commissioner of customs in Scotland, and then of taxes in England; he was displaced in 1741, in his 68th year, and died two months after it. He was a great friend of Pope, and is represented as a man of extensive learning, patriotic feelings, and an honorable mind. An apologetical letter under his name was prefixed to the first correct edition of the "Dunciad." Johnson says that Pope used Cleland's name in an apology in refutation of the charge of having satirized the Duke of Chandos as Timon.

William Pulteney[1], *Esq., to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.*

London, Dec. 17th, 1733.

My Lord,

I had the honour of your Lordship's of the 2d instant, by the messenger you dispatched from Edinburgh, and who arrived in London on Sunday the 9th. He did not however deliver me the letters until the Thursday morning following, for I was out of town, and he never desired I might be sent for, though I was but at ten miles distance; however, I think there can no mischief arise from the delay. As soon as I opened the packet, I sent away by express messengers the several letters as they were directed, Lord Chesterfield, Lord Strathmore, and Buchan being the only persons as yet in town. I made copies of the letter which was addressed to the three Dukes, and sent to each of them one, apprising them that I kept the original till they came to town. The Duke of Queensberry, I understand, is to be in London on Monday or Tuesday, to order to prepare for his journey to Scotland, where my Lady Duchess proposes to go with him, and where they intend to stay the whole winter. The Duke of Roxburgh came to town yesterday for

[1] Afterwards Earl of Bath, then head of the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole.

a day; he expresses the greatest satisfaction in what your Lordship has done; and surely every body must approve of a measure so wisely concerted as at once to defeat the measures of the ministry, and answer the intention of the law in obtaining a free election. I expect to-morrow a return of the messenger I sent to the Duke of Montrose; and I have detained yours a few days, that he might carry the Duke's letters with safety to Scotland, in case he had any to send. I question not but we shall fix on a sure method of carrying on a correspondence safely with North Britain; it will be of singular use, but need not be absolutely settled till your Lordships all return to town.

I am glad to hear you intend to be here on New-year's day; I will then do myself the honour to wait on you, and assure you with what high respect

I am your Lordship's

Most humble and most obedient Servant,

WM. PULTENEY.

Memorandum in the Handwriting of Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

January 3d, 1734.

Earl Chesterfield and Lord Cobham don't go to court; I resolve to act in the same manner as they do.

It will be most advisable to propose easy Whig points to bring off honest well meaning people, and render others inexcusable, such as a reasonable Place Bill, to exclude those of lower ranks in the Treasury and Revenue, such as clerks, &c., from sitting in the House of Commons.

A bill to make the officers of the army for life, or *quam diu se bene gesserint*, or broke by a council of war.

The Electors of Bavaria, Cologne, and Palatine, propose to the King a neutrality[1]; and to offer, in conjunction with his majesty, their mediation, and another place out of the empire, not at Ratisbon, to be appointed for their ministers to meet at.

The bishop of Namur, Strickland, who had been in England last summer, told Mr. B.[2] that he was going to Vienna, and was to make a proposal to the

[1] On the approaching hostilities in Germany between the Emperor and France.

[2] Probably Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood, Lord Marchmont's brother-in-law.

Emperor that his Imperial Majesty should make over the Austrian Netherlands to England and Holland, in order to have the barrier maintained against France; and that England would keep there 25,000 men, &c. The bishop[1] had dined where they had drunk freely, and was very open, but stopt short upon that particular of Tangier being quoted upon the apprehension of dangers to the liberties of England from that garrison's being mentioned. The bishop went to Vienna.

5th and 6th of January, 1733-4.

I had a long conversation with Mr. Dodington[2] at his house in Pall-Mall upon the present situation of our affairs at home and abroad. He expressed great uneasiness at it, and [appeared to be] extremely apprehensive on our dangerous situation, and expressed himself with warmth, and said, he blessed God he was a single man, not married, and had no family to look after nor be concerned for, which he, looks upon, in our present circumstances, as a very great happiness.

[1] Bishop Strickland was an English Roman Catholic sent to England by the Emperor with private credentials to the King and Queen, with a view to draw England into the war on the side of Austria. For the Bishop's personal history, see Coxe's "Walpole," 4to edition, vol. i., p. 442.

[2] George Bubb Dodington, afterwards Lord Melcombe. His character and fortunes are curiously delineated both by himself, in his own "Diary," and in Lord Orford's "Memoirs," especially in the Appendix to the first volume.

Memorandum[1] [*by Alexander Earl of Marchmont.*]

January 11.—Earl of Chesterfield told me in his own room, that he had good reason to believe that Lord Stair would be sent for, and have proposals made to him of being sent ambassador to Vienna. I said it might be so, but I thought Lord Stair too wise to engage, in the present situation of affairs, and at this juncture.

January 12.—Lord Carteret[2] threw out in discourse the difficulty there is of doing anything to purpose at present in the Scots affair, and that he would think it a happiness if he was a Scots Lord, to be out of Parliament for seven years at this time. This was too gross, and a key to what I have reason now to doubt of.

January 16.—Lord Stair told me, that both the Earls of Chesterfield and Carteret had spoke with him; and that Chesterfield had told him what he, Chesterfield, had told me, of his being to have proposals made to him of being sent to Vienna; and that Carteret told him, he had good reason to believe that the Queen would send for him, and talk with him; and that Evans's regiment would be given him, and he would be sent ambassador to Vienna, which, she thought, he might accept of, being out of Parliament. Lord Stair told me, he

[1] This Memorandum, without a date, must have been made in 1734.

[2] Lord Carteret was then in opposition to Sir Robert Walpole.

had discouraged these views; and both of [us] were jealous of Carteret's behaviour, and these discourses, though we could not yet see clearly into the bottom of them.

February 8.—Grange told me a conversation he had had with A. when in Scotland, when measures were a taking there concerning the elections, wherein he, A., advised him, Grange, to be wary and circumspect for the sake of his, Grange's, interest, and to take care not to be carried too far by those hot men, the Earls of Stair and Marchmont.

Grange told me also a conversation he had had with the Marquis of Tweeddale in passing the ferry[1]; wherein, talking of the present situation of affairs, and the changes that might happen, and in whose hands the affairs in Scotland might be put, Grange said, that for several reasons, *which he mentioned*, he, Tweeddale, seemed to be the likeliest, if not only man, in whose hands they must be put. Grange observed, that the discourse was encouraged, and pleased very much.

These discourses of the Marquis of Tweeddale's and Earl of A.'s, together with the Duke of Roxburgh's and Tweeddale's, together with the Earl of Winchelsea's and Carteret's behaviour in all the steps of the affair of the Scots election, decipher clearly the reasons of their procedure in Scotland, as well as here at London. Time discovers men and things.

[1] Probably the Queen's Ferry.

The Honourable James Erskine[1], *of Grange to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.*

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, January 10th, 1734.

Though the creatures of the court speak of getting an act to exclude me as being a Lord of Session, &c.

The same to the same.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, March 9th, 1734.

I will not be trampled on by him, Lord Islay, and his dogs. I can at least return to the bar.

[1] It appears, by an unpublished letter, that he was just detached from Lord Islay, and deemed a great acquisition by Sir Robert Walpole's opponents. He was made a Lord of Session in 1707, and resigned in 1734, that he might come into Parliament, the act of that session (7 Geo. II. c. 17.) incapacitating Scots judges to be elected, or to sit as members of the House of Commons, having been past, it should seem, expressly against him, on its becoming known that he meant to offer himself a candidate at the approaching general election of 1734. The Parliament was dissolved on the 17th day of April of that year. He was a man of great talents, and eminent in his profession. He was Justice-Clerk in 1710. He became secretary to the Prince of Wales for Scots affairs, and was the most active and efficient agent of the opposition in Scotland. He returned to the bar, after having been a judge twenty-seven years, and came into Parliament in 1734 for Clackmannanshire.

Rumpsteak or Liberty Club[1].

Tuesday, January 15th, 1733-4.

Tuesday, the 15th of January.—The Liberty or Rumpsteak Club met for this first time, and dined at the King's Arms, Pall-Mall.

There met the Dukes of Bedford, Bolton, Queensberry, Montrose, Marquis Tweeddale, Earls Chesterfield, Marchmont, Stair, and Viscount Cobham. Lord Cobham in the chair; Duke of Bedford named to be in the chair on Tuesday the 22d.

Tuesday, the 22d.—Duke of Bedford in the chair. The Club dined at the King's Arms. Present, Dukes of Bedford, Bolton, Marlborough, &c. &c.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Tuesday, the 2d April.—The Club dined at the King's Arms, Earl of Coventry in the chair. Present, the Dukes of Bedford and Montrose, Marquis of Tweeddale, Earls Winchelsea, Chesterfield, Thanet, Marchmont, Stair, Graham; Viscounts Cobham, Falmouth, Falkland, Lord Clinton. Earl

[1] A "Liberty Club," consisting exclusively of the nobility, will appear in this day so singular an institution, that an extract from a minute of its early proceedings is given. Its members were in eager opposition to Sir Robert Walpole. It met once a week on the Tuesdays during the session of Parliament; and the record is of its meetings in the session of 1734, in which it was founded. There is a trace of its meeting in the subsequent session of Parliament.

of Thanet's health drunk; to be in the chair the first Tuesday next session of Parliament; and the Club adjourned to that time.

List of the Club called Liberty Club.

Duke of Bolton,
Bedford,
Marlborough,
Queensberry,
Montrose,
Marquis of Tweeddale,
Earl of Suffolk,
Denbigh,
Berkshire,
Winchelsea,
Chesterfield,
Thanet,
Cardigan,
Warrington,
Earl of Coventry,
Buchan,
Marchmont,
Stair,
Macclesfield
Graham,
[1] Ker, Marquis of Beaumont,
Viscount Cobham,
Falmouth,
Falkland,
Lord Clinton,
Griffin,
Haversham.

[1] Eldest son of the Duke of Roxburgh, Earl of Ker in England.

Extract of a Letter from Alexander Earl of Marchmont to the Earl of Haddington[1].

London, March 20th 1733-4.

We have had the matter of the election of the sixteen Peers for Scotland before the House of Lords three different times; at all the three the argument was of one side, but the members of the other. . .

. . . . . .

On Monday last, before it came on, we had motions from the courtiers for congratulatory addresses to the King, to the Queen, to the Prince[2] and Princess of Orange, upon the marriage, which were all unanimously agreed to. Whenever that was done, the Duke of Marlborough moved, in order to do something more than make compliments, that a bill might be brought in to naturalize the Prince of Orange, and was seconded by the Earl of Chesterfield and Lord Carteret. The courtiers were surprised with the motion, and said not a word for nor against the motion; so it passed unanimously. The same motion was made in the House of Commons

[1] The Earl of Haddington was father of Lord Binning, who married Rachel, the second daughter of Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood, and of Lady Grisell Baillie, his wife, sister to Alexander Earl of Marchmont. Lord Binning died before his father. The Earl of Haddington descends from the eldest son, and the Baillies of Jerviswood descend from the second son born of this marriage.

[2] His Serene Highness espoused the Princess Royal. The king of the Netherlands is their grandson.

by Mr. Pulteney equally unexpected, but was seconded by Horace Walpole[1] though Mr. Sandys[2] was up to do it. The bill passed to-day, and will get the royal assent to-morrow.

The Hon. James Erskine to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, March 29th, 1734.

The behaviour of some to the Prince of Orange is astonishing beyond measure. I fancy the zeal for his honour by the country party is very popular. To order the Princess to reject the city's present surprises us all vastly, though we have seen the city maltreated before *de gaieté de cœur* and for no other visible end at all. That city is indeed a trifle; it is a wonder, that former statesmen thought so much of it. Sir Robert cares not a button for it.

[1] Brother to Sir Robert Walpole, distinguished by his diplomatic services; created Baron Walpole in 1756. He acted a prominent part in domestic politics, and in the House of Commons.

[2] Then a leading member of the House of Commons in opposition; subsequently Chancellor of the Exchequer; afterwards made a Peer.

The same to the same.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, June 15th, 1734.

It is so long since I walked in the outer house, &c. that it is like a novelty, and diverts me; and if the pence come sufficiently by it, I believe I shall continue to like it better than ever the dull (but wonderfully honest) bench. I thought that uneasy and silly bashfulness at speaking in public had long left me. I own I am surprised to find that I am still molested with it, and that pleading even at the side or fore bar should disturb me more than speaking on the bench did; but I hope a little more practice will put it off.

The Earl of Chesterfield to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

London, June 15th, 1734.

My dear Lord,

I received the honour of your letter of the 8th, by the courier that arrived here last Thursday. Though it did not bring me the news I hoped for, it brought me the news I expected[1]. You had not the

[1] Of the Election of the Scots representative Peers, and consequently of Lord Marchmont's not being one of them.

necessary arms for victory, for you had only justice of your side, which, in Scotland as well as here, is not alone sufficient. Lord Carteret, Mr. Pulteney, and myself, the only three of your friends now in town, have met and considered all the papers, upon which I refer you to Carteret's answer, that I may not trouble you with an unnecessary repetition of what you will have better from him; all I will say upon the subject is, that whatever you may think proper to do, and in whatever shape, I will support and labour to the utmost of my power. I should think it might be very possible to get some of the lowest of your venal Peers to come to our bar and confess the money they took to vote for the court list, which, if it could be obtained, would be such strong evidence, as would be hard to be resisted. I am told there is a Lord ——, that Duke Hamilton might possibly prevail with, and a Lord ——, that the Duke of Montrose might persuade. If that were possible, it would be worth while to make them lusty promises, and even to give them some little money in present, for two witnesses who have actually taken money and voted for it, are worth ten who have only been offered, and refused it.

You will likewise receive from other hands a thought that occurred to Pulteney, and which Carteret and I approved of, and which I am so fond of, that I cannot help mentioning it to you however: it is, that some Scotch commoner, well armed with facts and proofs, should get up in the House of

Commons and impeach Islay of high crimes and misdemeanours, which no doubt the corrupt influencing of elections amounts to. This would be a capital stroke, and affect the master as well as the man, and I should think exceeding practicable, considering the open and impudent proceeding of that worthy Lord.

The elections of your commons have gone better than I expected, and I take a particular part in the success of your family. I shall always be extremely desirous of shewing Lord Polwarth[1] and Mr. Hume the esteem and regard they both so well deserve, and which, even if they did not, they would always find from me upon your account. You should certainly have your petition presented the very first day of the session in our house, and be ready with all the proofs that are necessary to support it, as well as with all the circumstances that may conduce to blacken their cause; for, though I am sorry to say it, I fear you must expect more justice from your appeals to the rest of mankind, than from your appeals to our house, where now our strength is so much diminished, and by the loss of that part of it which, without any compliment to you, we could the least afford to spare.

Everything here is in the situation you left it. The president is as contemptible and subservient as ever; D—— you may imagine is so too; notwith-

[1] Both Lord Polwarth and his twin brother Alexander Hume Campbell first came into Parliament at the general Election of 1734.

standing which, he is so ill at court, that I verily believe, and I am sure I hope, that he will be laid aside with only his wardenship of the Cinque Ports. Had people any spirit or honesty, now would be the time to exert it, for we have certainly two hundred and fifty in the House of Commons; which number, if well conducted and united, cannot long remain a minority.

I must not omit mentioning to you, that it will surely be very necessary for you Lords to attend and solicit your petition in town at the opening of the Parliament, for solicitations *vivâ voce,* and of the persons themselves concerned, have much more weight than remote applications by letter, or the intervention of friends. I really think this absolutely necessary, abstractedly from my own private wishes of seeing those people for whom I have the most sincere regard.

You see, in the public newspapers, all I know or can tell you in relation to foreign affairs; what the French will think fit to do after they have taken Philipsbourg[1], I know no more than our ministers; but this I know, that they have it all in their hands, and may do whatever they please, for neither the wisdom of our counsels, nor the terror of our forces will check 'em in their career.

[1] Surrendered on the 18th July 1734, to the French, under D'Asfeldt, the Duke of Berwick, who commanded the siege, having been killed. Prince Eugene could not attempt to relieve the place on account of his inferiority of force.

I forget that this letter grows to an excessive length, while I am indulging the pleasure I have in conversing with you; you must excuse however the trouble you have, from that perfect esteem and regard with which I shall ever be,

My dear Lord,
Your most faithful humble servant,
CHESTERFIELD.

The Lord Carteret[1] *to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.*

Jermyn Street, June 15th, 1734.

My Lord,

I had yesterday the honour of yours of the 8th, at Mr. Pulteney's, where my Lord Chesterfield and I had the pleasure to read your several letters and papers, and took care to forward the letters to friends in the country, as was desired.

We are fully satisfied, that you have done all that men could do, much more than could be expected under such disadvantages, as you have been liable to. The several queries in your letter, and in Lord Grange's, we extracted, and we return you such answers as we can give at present, which you will find herein inclosed. Your protests will undoubtedly give great offence to men in power; and

[1] Afterwards Earl of Granville.

therefore we think it necessary that you should petition the House, and be armed with all possible proofs; and in that case, though we should be overcome, and your protests should be censured, yet that proceeding will not hurt you in the world in the least; but if you should not petition, and they complain of your protests first, they may get advantage in such a way of proceeding. I wish we had it in our hands, as you say, to do our country and you justice; what the hands of a minority can do, we will do; but at present this is our state—we do not despair, nor are too sanguine. We shall find ourselves much weakened in the House of Lords; we have at present reasonable hopes of a very strong party in the House of Commons; and believe we shall be able to make a strong push to place Mr. Sandys in the chair[1]; for which we speak to all our friends, and desire you will begin early with yours; and that they will be present the first day for the purpose. This will shew the strength of our return; and we shall have some of the court with us in this question.

We expect to hear every day, that Prince Eugene has attacked the French. It is certain that he has ordered his army, ten days ago, to be ready to march in two days, with six days' provision of bread; he was about three days' march from the French. Our ministers, as I am told, want to set a

[1] Mr. Onslow was re-elected Speaker in the new Parliament of 1734.

mediation on foot jointly with the States[1]. It is manifest France wants to play a sure game, rather than an adventurous one; and it is a great game to become master of the Rhine, which they bid fair for, if Philipsburgh cannot be relieved. Prince Eugene has upwards now of 60,000 men; the French upwards of 90,000 men. The suspense of this affair keeps people from thinking of Italy. The Spaniards have defeated the Imperialists in the kingdom of Naples; but those Imperialists were not German troops. The French avoid a battle, and will continue so to do as much as possible in Italy, and that for manifest reasons. This is all I can say about foreign affairs.

I am very glad both your sons are returned; I wish we could as safely depend upon all those we reckon upon, as we can upon them. I am, my dear Lord, with unalterable respect,

Your Lordship's most affectionate and
Obedient humble servant,
CARTERET.

[1] England offered to the Emperor, then attacked by France, Spain, and Sardinia, to mediate between him and his enemies, in conjunction with the States-General.

Sarah Duchess of Marlborough to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

June 15th, 1734.

My Lord,

I received the honour of two letters, which came together upon Thursday last. I am extremely glad that you are not disappointed in choosing your sons. It is plain to everybody that by the ministers' proceeding in Scotland, they have broke through all the laws of the Union, which was once thought so valuable a thing, and so necessary to secure the quiet of England; and they have been as arbitrary and unjust in England, where they had power to do it. I remember what pains the Duke of Marlborough and the late Lord Godolphin took to procure the union between England and Scotland; and if the dead could know what the living[1] are doing, they would be surprised to hear that so many great men of service have been so barbarously used, and that my Lord Balcarras, only a major in the Guards, should be one of the sixteen Peers, and your lordship left out; and my Lord Stair, who was a very successful ambassador[2] for the family that now

[1] Alexander Earl of Marchmont, besides losing his office of Lord Register, was excluded from the representation of the Scottish Peerage in the Parliament chosen in 1734, in consequence of his opposition to Sir Robert Walpole. He was named by the Duchess as one of her executors, but died before her.

[2] At Paris, during the regency of the Duke of Orleans, where he displayed great dexterity and ability.

reigns, not to mention his long service in the army [1], without which successful battles the House of Hanover could never have come into England. This, I think, is as sad a picture as can be made of our present governors. I have not seen Mr. Pulteney since he received the accounts from your Lordship, and my Lord Stair, of the shameful proceedings in Scotland; but I have read the protests in the printed papers, which are mighty good; and I hope, when they are represented in Parliament, they will produce something to the advantage, as well as reputation of those Lords that have acted so well; for surely there cannot always be a majority to support such a scandalous proceeding; and it amazes me, that people should so soon forget that King James lost his crown, who was a good manager for the public, without breaking any law, but what proceeded from his weakness of having a mind that everybody should attend him in heaven by establishing popery here. There will be vast numbers of petitions in the House of Commons of the same sort in the elections of this country, as has been practised in yours; and one against my Lord Chancellor, who has done most unbecoming and most unjustifiable things to make a return for his son against Mr. Mansell for Glamorganshire. This is a step very bad to begin his reign with; but it is

[1] For a remarkable proof of the Duke of Marlborough's confidence in him, see his Lordship's letter to Alexander Earl of Marchmont of the 10th December, 1736.

certain, he is a man of no judgment, whatever knowledge he may have in the law, and very proud; nor does he know anything of the world, or the qualities of a gentleman.

There can be nothing in my letters that is of any consequence or use to you; and as I know my Lord Stair and you often meet, to avoid making either of my letters too long, I have divided what I had to say, for I know you will read them to each other. I dare say your friends will give the best advice they can, both for their own sakes and yours. I am sure they have better heads, as well as hearts, than the wretched men that have brought our countries into such a condition. I am sorry I am so insignificant; but I am sure, nobody living wishes more than I do that villains may be punished, and good men rewarded; and I hope you will do me the justice to believe, that I am, with the greatest value and respect imaginable,

Your Lordship's most faithful, and
Most obliged humble servant,
S. MARLBOROUGH.

William Pulteney, Esq. to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

London, June 15th, 1734.

My Lord,

When I received the honour of your Lordship's letter by the express, with the inclosed accounts of the proceedings and protests at the election of the sixteen Peers, I immediately sent to Lord Chesterfield and Lord Carteret, acquainting them that I had letters for them, and desiring to consult with them on the occasion. The result of their opinions your Lordship will find in a letter of Lord Carteret's directed to you; and I have added my sentiments at large in one to Mr. Erskine of Grange, who will no doubt communicate it to your Lordship.

If strong and demonstrable proof can be obtained to make that corruption appear, which we are fully convinced has been secretly practised, no doubt then the right and proper way of proceeding will be by way of impeachment, and at the same time a petition should be lodged in the House of Lords complaining of the illegality of the election by reason of the bribery, menaces, and undue influence made use of to procure it; but if the evidence does not come out so as to be undeniable, we must not meddle with the impeachment, for being foiled in it would prove of fatal consequence. I hope your

Lordship, and others of our friends, intend to be in London three weeks or a month before the meeting of Parliament, that we may consult together, and settle everything necessary to be done in this case, or any other, before the Parliament meets. What evidence will be admitted, and what will be necessary to prepare, your Lordship will find in the answers to the several queries sent to us; *vivâ voce* evidence, to be sure, in all cases, is the strongest and best; but where that cannot be had, by reason of sickness or other impediment, I presume proper affidavits will be allowed. No one can be an evidence that signs the petition: care therefore must be taken of that matter; but all these particulars are better set forth in Lord Carteret's letter to you.

I give your Lordship joy of the success of your two sons; they will not be ashamed of the numbers that will join with them next sessions; for though we failed in Cornwall, and have not succeeded so well as was hoped in Scotland, yet in the main we have done pretty well, and may depend on two hundred and fifty members at first setting out. This will encourage us to attempt choosing a Speaker; Mr. Sandys is to be our man; and possibly your Lordship may engage some to vote for him, if you solicit them early. The Tories will all come in to him to a man, notwithstanding some of them were a little out of humour with him on account of his acting in elections.

Having written largely to Mr. Erskine of Grange, I will not trouble your Lordship further than to assure you that I am, with all possible respect,

Your Lordship's
Most obedient humble servant,
WM. PULTENEY.

The Honourable James Erskine to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, June 15th, 1734.

The gentlemen of the long robe perhaps are sometimes faulty in confining their thoughts to the common track of their mere trade; and the law does not so much direct them in bringing about good things, but sits on them like fetters and manacles, that keep them from walking and using their hands (except to take money), or makes them as stiff as an English counsel in his band and huge periwig. I must trouble your Lordship to seal my letter to Mr. Pulteney, before you send it off.

The Duke of Queensberry to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

Ambresbury, August 21st, 1734.

My Lord,

If our proofs will not come up to what may be required in the House of Lords, in order to make the election void, it is certainly better that we should not make that our point, but push the minister and his agent for having made attempts of undue influence in a case, that so highly concerns the constitution of that House, and of the whole country. This moved at the same time in the House of Commons, by opening a scene of general corruption, I should imagine, must give the minister no small disturbance, and must prove a weight too great even for his shoulders, though they are pretty broad ones. My Lord Carteret is at present in this neighbourhood with Mr. Spencer, where he is to stay but a few days; I will go there to-morrow, on purpose to learn particulars. Mr. Pulteney, I am informed, was to write to my Lord Bruce to desire him to press my Lord Kincardine to come up, which is very necessary; for since our evidence is not numerous, we must endeavour to have them all on the spot.

Sarah Duchess of Marlborough to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

Windsor Lodge, August 23d, 1734.

I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter, for which I am very thankful. As I am in the country, I can know nothing but what one sees in the prints; by which[1], I think it looks as if France would soon attain universal power. And why people of fortunes seem so unconcerned at that, I cannot at all comprehend. It is most wonderful that men of estates will be quiet under it, who need not be vassals. But as the corruption and folly of the present times is very great, God knows what may happen, or what time and chance may produce to save us. One may be very sure that those, who have already acted so noble a part for the general good, will continue it; and if no reason can prevail, they must have the satisfaction only of having endeavoured what is right. I had an account lately, which I will write, because I do not think it is printed, that my Lord Chief Justice Hardwicke has got great credit in his circuit to Norwich. There was a Yarmouth man in the interest of Sir Edmund Bacon, who, upon pretence of a riot at the entry of the courtiers, the mayor ordered to be whipped. This man brought his action; and my Lord Hardwicke said, it was very illegal and arbitrary, and di-

[1] The uninterrupted success of the French arms against the Emperor.

rected the jury to find for him, which they did, and gave damages, though the foreman of the jury had married Sir Charles[1] Turner's daughter, who I take to be a near relation of Sir Robert's. I do not think this made the poor man amends, who was whipped wrongfully; for I would have had those that occasioned the whipping doubly whipt themselves. But I suppose the judge could go no further; and I liked it, because my Lord Hardwicke is a great man; and I hope from this action, as well as from his independency, that he will have some regard to the proceedings in Scotland when represented: but remember, that I prophesy, that the man that is one step above him will have no regard but to his present interest. I know the man perfectly well. However I cannot help thinking, that when that business comes into Parliament, it will give the ministers a great deal of trouble; at least, I am sure I wish that it may. I wish you and your family all the prosperity imaginable—even as much as you deserve, which is the strongest expression that I can think of, who am,

Your Lordship's most faithful and
Most obliged humble servant,
S. MARLBOROUGH.

My most humble service to my Lord Stair.

[1] Member for Lynn in four parliaments, and a teller of the Exchequer. Sir Robert Walpole, writing to Lord Hardwicke on the 25th November, 1738, and mentioning Sir Charles Turner's having died at his house the day before, speaks of him as 'his oldest friend and acquaintance in the world,' and as 'the best of men and the best of friends.'

William Pulteney, Esq. to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

Petersham in Surrey, August 25th, 1734.

My Lord,

There are so few of our principal friends in town, that when we received your dispatch by the messenger, it was impossible to get the advice of so many as we could have wished to have had upon the occasion; however, the Duke of Montrose summoned Lord Chesterfield, Lord Carteret, and myself, and we have agreed in our opinion, which you will find contained in three papers sent to you. The first points out the method of proceeding which we think ought to be in both Houses at the same time. It should be brought into the House of Lords by a general petition stating the facts only, and leaving it to the House to do in it as they think proper; and, at the same time, an impeachment should be attempted in the House of Commons. The evidence, to be sure, is not sufficient, nor does it affect members enough to vacate the election, much less will it serve to bring in the minority list; but surely it is vastly strong as to corruption, and proves manifestly many mal-practices at the time of the election, which ought to be punished and prevented.

The next paper is a sketch of the petition to the House of Lords, which may be altered at pleasure, provided it be kept general; the matter we took

partly from one, and partly from the other draft of those sent us by Mr. Dundas and Mr. Areskine.

The third paper contains hints as to the evidence, and what may be proper to try to get, in addition to that already obtained; surely, whatever tends to prove Lord I——a[1] to have been the chief conductor of this whole affair is vastly material; and I should think it easy to obtain proof that he had the power of taking up vast sums of money on the excise and new bank. My Lord is not so extravagant as to have any great occasion for such sums on account of his personal expences, or the necessary ones of his journey, and therefore I am of opinion, it will be a strong presumptive evidence of his having been the agent in this affair, especially if it be joined with others of great force, such as the power of granting offices, commissions, &c., and that of releasing feuds and quit-rents. I think you should not value what number of people you summon up, provided there was the more likely chance of coming at the truth; but, above all, we beg of you not to fail being here yourselves, at least three weeks before the meeting of Parliament, that if you agree to pursue the measure in the manner we have fixed it, everything may be settled in time for the further conducting it, and that all the proper parts may be assigned to the proper persons.

When we have any certain information as to the time of the meeting of Parliament, you shall hear

[1] The Earl of Islay, afterwards Duke of Argyle.

from us; at present it seems probable, that it will not meet till after Christmas. Give me leave to conclude this letter with assuring your Lordship, that I am, with the greatest respect,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

W. PULTENEY.

The Earl of Chesterfield to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

London, August 27th, 1734.

My dear Lord,

As this courier carries you the three papers that contain the joint opinions of the Duke of Montrose[1], Mr. Pulteney, and myself, which likewise concurred with Lord Carteret's, though we did not see him; and as you will receive at the same time letters from the Duke of Montrose and Pulteney, explaining our sentiments upon all points referred to us better and more fully than I am able to do it myself, there remains very little for me in this letter, but to thank your Lordship for the honour of yours of the 12th, and to assure you very sincerely of the sense I shall always have of your friendship; however, you will give me leave to touch upon the three principal points contained in

[1] The Duke of Montrose had the Great Seal of Scotland, but was dismissed for opposing Sir Robert Walpole in 1733.

our joint papers, since I know, that at so great a distance things can never be too fully explained or too often repeated. The advantage conversation gives one of debating, objecting, and replying, is wanted in writing, and must be supplied as well as one can.

The first point of taking up the matter of the election originally in our House, without any application from your Lordships, is absolutely impossible; for you very well remember, that, in our inquiries into the affairs of the South Sea, the strong objection of the court was, that there was no application from any of the parties concerned, and therefore it was to be presumed that none of them were aggrieved; to which we replied, that the parties were too numerous to concert an application, and many of them, such as minors, orphans, &c., are not in circumstances to be able to do it, and that what was everybody's business was nobody's.

But in this case the same objection of the court would be much stronger, without admitting in any degree of the same reply. For here the parties are few; the method of complaint is pointed out by precedents; and even your own protests seem to imply a future application to Parliament. Suppose, for instance, one should try to take it up originally in our House, what would be the event of it? We should certainly be answered in the manner I have mentioned. The question would be put in two or three hours, which we should lose by a

great majority, and the whole matter quashed at once, without any facts appearing to the public; whereas, upon a petition, whatever may be the main event of it, at least in the course of our proceedings upon it those infamous practices will be laid open to all mankind, and condemned by everybody but the House.

As to the second point, the petition itself, though I am very far from expecting the effect from it I could wish,—I mean either that of changing the sixteen, or of vacating the election,—both which are certainly impossible, I still expect a good effect from it. It will lay open to the whole world, in an authentic manner, the whole scene of iniquity and corruption. It must fix upon Islay crimes that will beget questions of censure, from which he can only be acquitted by the scandalous partiality of a majority as corrupt as himself; and it will be necessary to accompany and assist the other step to be taken in the House of Commons. The petition, being conceived in the general terms in which we have drawn it, leaves us wholly at liberty to push those points only, which, from the evidence we have to support them, or, from the nature of circumstances at that time, may seem the likeliest to be brought to bear. Lord Tweeddale's reasonings in his letter to the Duke of Montrose are unanswerable, and plainly prove, that no other fruit is to be hoped for from this petition than what I have mentioned. Evidence you certainly have not sufficient to set aside votes enough to give you a majority;

and our House is not at present of a complexion to vacate the election, because of some corrupt practices proved upon some of the electors. Our great hopes, then, arise from the third point,—the impeachment in the House of Commons. This step, taken there with vigour, the same day that your petition is lodged in our House, will strike both the agent and his master, and may have (as such unexpected steps often have) a greater effect than can be foreseen. There will certainly be evidence enough to fix the high crime of corruption upon Islay, though there is not enough to retrieve the mischiefs that have been occasioned by it. From the turn this takes in the House of Commons we must regulate our conduct as to the petition in our House. They must help one another; and from one, or other, or both, I own I expect some good will arise.

What stand we can make this Session must be in the House of Commons, where we are much stronger than we were last session; our numbers are a good two hundred and forty, which, if well conducted, cannot in my opinion remain long a minority. In the House of Lords our strength is so much decreased, that we must wait for accidents and circumstances from without doors, before we can hope to do anything.

You see in the public newspapers the wretched situation of our foreign affairs, as well as I could inform you; the ministers, who, I am persuaded, are determined at all events not to engage in a war,

are labouring at all the courts in Europe[1] to bring on some negociations, or something like a congress, in order to hold out a fallacious prospect of peace at the opening of the new Parliament. But I believe, their endeavours will be very ineffectual; for I cannot suppose, that the allies[2] will restore by treaty what they have got, or the Emperor yield what he has lost.

I am extremely glad to hear, that I shall have the pleasure of seeing you and others of our friends in town some time before the meeting of the Parliament; it is really very necessary that we should meet in time, and concert measures; besides, that a matter of this nature should be countenanced by the appearance of as many of the persons concerned as possible.

I am ashamed of having troubled you so long, and persuaded that you do me the justice to believe much more than I could say to you, will only add that I am,

My dear Lord,

Most faithfully yours,

CHESTERFIELD.

May I beg my compliments to Lord Tweeddale and Lord Stair, when you see them?

[1] A negociation for mediation was led to by Cardinal de Fleury in September, 1734; hence arose M. Jannel's delusory negociation at the Hague with the English and Dutch ministers, and unavailing subsequent communications with the Cardinal.

[2] France, Spain, and Sardinia.

The Duke of Montrose to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

London, Tuesday night.
August 27th, 1734.

I must add to your trouble by a second letter. Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Pulteney came to my house this morning, and we passed the day together; and having communicated our letters together, and agreed upon the papers to which we refer, and which are directed to your Lordship, we came next to consider how proper it was to send off the messenger with caution. Therefore I am to acquaint you, that this is wrote from Sir John Bruce's lodging, the messenger being, to-morrow morning by six o'clock, to call here for his dispatches; and to prevent all accidents that may happen, Sir John is so good as to go to Enfield to-morrow in his coach, and to carry the messenger along with him, and to see him on horseback there. I am further to acquaint your Lordship, that to-morrow Mr. Pulteney is to go to Newmarket,—from thence into Norfolk, to divert himself for some time a-shooting. Soon after he returns to this place, he is to go to Bath, and will not be in London for good till the middle of November. In less than a fortnight Lord Chesterfield goes for Bath. In short, we shall all be dispersed for some time. I mention this because,

should anything occur to you below, I believe it would be in vain to send any messenger here before November. By that time, those I have mentioned, Lord Winchelsea and others, may be in town; Lord Carteret, you know, is not above a day's journey from it.

We have no manner of reason to suspect the messenger. I hope, and I believe the man is very honest; but, as we live in suspicious times, should there be occasion for sending one from Scotland some time hence, it may be prudent to employ another well recommended, that the bearer's countenance may not be too well known on the road.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

If the messenger rid as he did in coming hither, this may be with you on Saturday night.

Extract of a Letter[1] *from the Honourable James Erskine of Grange to Alexander Earl of Marchmont, dated Edinburgh, 3d November,* 1734.

After the freeholders of Stirlingshire signed and did every thing requisite concerning the recom-

[1] This extract is given for the sake of the picture of manners prevailing within these hundred years, which it exhibits.

mendation, and that Sir James C——— and his creatures did, by their follies and impertinencies in opposing, add more keenness to the rest of the shire, for the measure, all of them, on both sides, staid in the town till the next, which was the King's birth-day; and all of them were invited by the magistrates to drink the King's health with them, at a huge bonfire, and in the town-house, which was done by all the honest folks, and they parted decently and orderly, about nine at night; but I believe well enough refreshed, for such is their fashion; and they all went home to bed.

But Sir James C——— and his gang disdained the invitation, and they had a bonfire of their own at the upper end of the same street, on the top of some old walls of ruined houses belonging to the Duke of Argyle; and there themselves also mounted, and drank and halloed; but even the mob scorned to notice them, until they flung over money, which the crowd came and civilly picked up, and presently left them. We see that the mob is not always in the wrong. From this they went into his Grace's house, possessed by Mrs. Campbell, Lord Milton's aunt, and relict of the Duke's uncle, James, and drunk till about one of the morning.

They came down the street in a body, and went up to the guard, which the magistrates had (as they always do) set to surround the bonfire, and let nobody go next it, lest drunken fellows should do

mischief with it in the night time. They sternly bade the guard stand aside, that they might drink at the fire, and gave opprobrious language, and asked whether for court or country, and be ——— to them. He, who commanded that guard, is a discreet, sober, and very stout, sturdy fellow; he told them, they had done better to come to the bonfire when invited by the magistrates; that now it was unseasonable; that their orders were to let none next the fire, and he entreated them to be civil and go home; but if they inclined to drink the King's health in the street, the guard still remaining next the fire, they would meet with no disturbance. On this some of them jumped betwixt the fire and the guard, who immediately thrust them out. G—— of K——— (who was employed in the King's revenue, on being turned from the Duke of Montrose's service for impudent frauds) challenged any of the guard to fight him. Capt. Charles C——, Lord Milton's and Earl Islay's cousin german, struck one of the guard over the head. K——— ran one of them into the thigh with his sword. C——, comptroller of the customs at Alloa, wounded with his sword others of them. F—— of D———, the most mighty Governor of Jamaica's favourite cousin and heir, attacked in the same manner; so did others, and two or three of the few friends whom they have among the townsmen; but the guard gave them a very good reception. Capt. C—— is cut in the head and well bruised. The man,

whom K——— wounded, broke his musket over his honour's head, and knocked him down; and he was carried off half dead. C——, the comptroller (a most impudent scoundrel) has his arm almost cut off. F—— of D———'s hand is so hurt, that he is in some danger of losing it. N—— of C——— joined at length in the attack, but got so hearty real rebukes, that he repented it; in short, they were all thrashed most consumedly. Sir J—— of A——— was not at the first attack, but went to his quarters from Mrs. Campbell's; but, hearing that so good things were a-dealing, he came in his night-gown and slippers, and furiously scolded and threatened the guard and bystanders, until one reproved him by a gentle reprimand or two with a small cane over the head; and then the knight turned more calm.

The noise soon gathered a great multitude, who, spite of the guard, would have torn Sir J—— and his valiant men in pieces; but the guard did their own business so cleverly, that these heroes were hid in a neighbouring tavern before the crowd got together; yet there neither their courage, good sense, nor discretion failed them. The fellow, who had been appointed captain of the guard for that night, had got drunk, very luckily (for his lieutenant behaved better than he would have done), and was asleep all the time of the battle. Awaking after it, he would go to the tavern and argue with the knight and squires, who as wisely detained him as prisoner. This put the mob in rage, who, having

cried to set out the captain of the guard, did next demand him by thick repeated vollies of stones at all the tavern windows, and swore they would break open the door and sacrifice them; but young Buchlyvie went in, and got them to dismiss the captain.

The crowd was turned calm, but Sir J——'s discretion made another scuffle; he and two of his associates, as justices of the peace, signed an order to the commanding officer of the castle, (a new power for justices of the peace,) to send them a party, and a serjeant, with his battle-axe, and twelve soldiers with their fusils and bayonets screwed on were sent, under command of a son of Colonel C——'s; but the youth was cautious; and so soon as he saw that all did not fly at his presence, they say, he fled back himself to preserve the castle. The serjeant and his men went to the door of the tavern to receive the commands of the justices turned generals; and as the crowd stood about them, but touched them not, the serjeant beat one of them, who soon took his weapon from him, and broke it over his own worship's head. Then the soldiers fell to work with their fusils and screw bayonets, but were quickly disarmed, and fled to the castle with broken heads. Sir J—— disdained to send to the magistrates, which would have been more effectual, but, alas! it would have been legal too.

So soon as the Provost was awake, got on his clothes, and heard what passed, he went to the

street, and read the proclamation, and the crowd immediately retired peaceably. The Provost then went to the guard-room, where F—— of D——— had been secured, and regretted the folly he had committed, but, out of respect to a neighbouring gentleman, said, he would take him to his quarters, and the thing would be legally inquired into. The Laird refused to go out until forsooth he should know why put in; and there he lay drunk, cold, and well thrashed, till day-light; when the guard dismissed, they told him that he might either go home or stay there alone, as he pleased, till the succeeding guard at night came to bear him company. An hour or two afterwards the Lady H——, and a crony of her's, got him to go home, and conducted him through the street.

The magistrates immediately sent an express to me for advice from Messrs. Dundas, Graham, and myself, which they got. The Lairds sent to Milton[1]; I know not the return he gave; probably he will send to him for it, who exalts his station and stature, and then we may have a second course of Hadington.

None of our gentlemen were in the street that I have heard of, except young Buchlyvie and Castlecarry, who, though a bystander only, got some blows, as other peaceable bystanders did, from some of the squires. . . . . .

The recommendation was carried at Perth, by a great majority: John Tweeddale three to two, and

[1] Lord Justice Clerk.

Sir James Nasmyth refused to accept of it, but Sir Alexander Murray did accept of it. Here it [was] carried unanimously by all met; and at Hadington, as I am told, *nemine contradicente.* Sir Alexander M'Donald, and another chieftain, who was here, and is gone north, have joined so heartily for it, and wrote (as I did) to others of them, that I hope still it will do in Invernesshire. My old friend Duncan[1] had better forborne to reflect on the patriots to them. To shew them how much below the chieftains it was to be led by so little a man, I had the sorest bout of rack punch that I have had for many years. But what will not a patriot do for his dear country? However I cannot often drink more than a bottle and a half (almost two) of rack for my own hand; (after this, will your Lordship[2] fight with rack at Lucky's?) and an incident had seasonably fallen in. One of them thinks he is to have a law-suit with the Duke of Argyle, and the other suspects his Grace is also to pursue him. Duncan would not engage with either of them, and told them, he would be for the Duke, which they take very ill. They desired me to be for them, and I cheerfully accepted, refused the retaining fees for suits not yet commenced, but gave them my word of honour to be for them against his Grace, and fight it to the stumps.

[1] Probably Duncan Forbes, then Lord Advocate.

[2] Another letter conveyed a challenge to his Lordship to such an encounter.

The Honourable James Erskine of Grange to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, November 18th, 1734.
Monday Night.

The courtiers are not the only rascals. Your Lordship, I suppose, will be but once in Edinburgh before you go to London, and will get all done here that you can at your next coming. If you do not get things brought to some good issue, then all is to go at six and seven; but there is no help but to make the best of it. *Jacta est alea*, as to our country, and also as to those who appear for it. My wonder is as to some of the last, that they do not watch their chances. Even at hazard this is necessary. But if inadvertent careless chess-players win the game, it will be much. My comfort is, that there are blunders not a few on the other side too.

I had a letter just now from Mr. Pulteney, dated the 12th current, which your Lordship will see when you come to town. In the mean time, I shall only acquaint your Lordship, that he still entreats that you may all be at London early in December, to settle many necessary and important points before the Parliament begins. These are his own words. It is yet uncertain whether we shall have war or peace; but large demands are to be made;

30,000 seamen at least. The English forces, they say, are to be made up 30,000. Treaties are already made with Sweden and Denmark for 12,000 each; and we are immediately to take into pay 6000 of each. One new tax is so much talked of, that Mr. Pulteney says, he dares say the ministers have it in their thoughts: it is a further duty on houses; and the common report is, that every window in the kingdom is to pay twelvepence, which would raise a prodigious sum; but he adds, that he is apt to think it would raise a rebellion at the same time. Other observations on it he writes, that are too long to transcribe, and particularly with regard to Scotland. But at the end of his letter he subjoins this postscript:—'I think you may mention 'the intention of laying the window-tax in some 'new shape to raise more money, in which case, to 'be sure, Scotland can never pretend to an ex-'emption; and how severe it may be on your 'country you best know.' This, compared with what he wrote above, seems to look as if he thought it not amiss that Scotland should be angry. He further writes, that a report runs about as if [the] Lord Chancellor[1] was extremely disgusted, and determined to lay down. He adds, that he knows nothing of it; but that the ministers have used him so very ill, that a man of honour and spirit cannot brook it. Lady Suffolk[2] on the 12th resigned

[1] Lord Talbot. [2] Mistress to George the Second.

her employment as Mistress of the Robes to the Queen, and is retired from Court, which makes a great noise.

From Lord Cobham[1] *to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.*

My dear Lord,

The case as represented from Scotland, God knows, is too true; and, for all I can see, without redress. Lord Chesterfield came to town Tuesday last, as full of desire of doing something as your Lordship and I am, and with as little hopes. I will keep the letter to shew him, but doubt whether he will write to Scotland, knowing very well that he cannot engage for any body. Lord Carteret has promised to be in town either the 7th or 10th of next month. Mr. Pulteney is still at Bath as uncertain in his motions as his mind. All that can be said at present, if Lord C.[2] does not write, is, that Sir W. Wyndham has promised the Tories shall be in town, and that people's presence here is absolutely necessary, supposing the worst, which is, if those who will give the law, and whose minds

[1] Lord Cobham lost his regiment for opposing Sir Robert Walpole in 1733. He served as a general officer under the Duke of Marlborough, and was made a Peer in 1714. He was made a field-marshal in 1742.

[2] Lord Chesterfield.

nobody knows, shall only think fit to be on the defensive. The press is to be attacked; and my Lord Chancellor has already prepared a bill to that purpose. The Prince, either in the speech or address of condolence, is to be menaced at least. I am sorry you have not been well. I am out of order, but that is of no consequence. God preserve men of your virtue and capacity, for they were never so necessary as in the present conjuncture.

I am ever,
With the greatest truth,
Your most faithful humble servant,
COBHAM.

December the 30th[1].

Memorandum[2].

There was a meeting at Lord Cobham's on Sunday the 12th January, after Mr. Erskine came to

[1] The date of the year is not given, but the history of the times, and circumstances mentioned in the letter, shew that it was written in 1734. The session of Parliament opened on the 14th January, 1735; it was the first of the new Parliamen.

[2] The following paper is a statement of the measures concerted from day to day by the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, with a view to criminate the government for interference by corruption and intimidation in the election of the sixteen Scots Peers in 1734. Their attack in the House of Lords was made

town, when Mr. Erskine laid before it the evidence so far as he had prepared it. And other papers were put into his hands, to put all in form against the next meeting, which was appointed for Tuesday the 14th, at Lord Cobham's, at eleven of the clock; and the meeting was kept accordingly. Present, Dukes of Bolton[1], Hamilton, Queensberry, and Montrose, Marquis of Tweeddale, Earls of Chesterfield, Kincardine, Dundonald, Marchmont[2], Stair, Viscount Cobham, Lord Carteret, Gower, Bathurst[3], and Elphinstone, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Sandys, Mr. Erskine, and Mr. Dundas.

When Mr. Erskine read all the papers he had prepared upon the evidence, as appeared from what [the] Earl of Kincardine and Lord Elphinstone could declare, and likewise from Mr. Crawfurd's evidence; and after full reasoning upon the evidence, and when many objections had been made to it by Lord Carteret and Mr. Dundas, another meeting was appointed at Mr. Pulteney's of the same

with much ability and vigour; they were, however, defeated in two divisions, but by less majorities than the ministers usually carried with them, in that day, in the Upper House. This paper gives curious evidence of the policy pursued by Lord Carteret and his friends, of which there are other indications.

[1] One of the victims of 1733; he then lost his regiment. In 1740 he had the Band of Pensioners.

[2] He lost his place of Lord Register in 1733.

[3] He succeeded the Duke of Bolton in the command of the Band of Pensioners in 1742.

persons, and three lawyers, Mr. Bootle, Mr. Fazakerley, and Mr. Noel, when the evidence was fully spoke to by them, Mr. Sands, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr. Pulteney, and the evidence thought sufficient to found an impeachment against E. of I—[1] upon, if Mr. Crawfurd was here; and it was discoursed in what manner it was to be brought in. Lord P—[2] was to lay the transactions in Scotland in general before the House, and to be seconded by Mr. Dundas and Mr. Erskine, and upon the being heard at the bar. Mr. Sandys was to move the impeachment, and be supported by the rest; and it was not doubted, that all that spoke in the House would join in the debate.

On Sunday, the 2d of February, there was a meeting at the Duke of Queensberry's: Present, the Dukes of Hamilton, Queensberry, Montrose, [and] Roxburgh, Marquis Tweeddale, Earls of Rothes, Strathmore, Kincardine, Dundonald, Marchmont, Stair, and Lord Elphinstone; where the Lords reasoned long and fully upon the expediency of presenting their petition to the House of Lords, the Duke of Roxburgh and Marquis of Tweeddale reasoning against it. But after long and full reasoning, and Mr. Dundas's delivering his opinion, that it was absolutely necessary, for that *the Lords were betwixt the devil and the deep sea;* and Mr. Erskine

[1] The Earl of Islay, afterwards Duke of Argyle.

[2] Lord P. must mean Lord Polwarth.

likewise being of the same opinion, it seemed agreed to by all, that the petition should be presented, with this quality only, which was insisted upon by the Duke of Roxburgh, that *our friends, the English Lords, would support us in it.* And the Duke of Queensberry was desired to send to them to procure a meeting with them at Viscount Cobham's next day, the 3d, at eleven of the clock.

On Monday, the 3d of February, there was a meeting at Lord Cobham's, where were present, the Dukes of Bolton, Hamilton, Queensberry, Montrose, Roxburgh, Marquis Tweeddale, Earls of Kincardine, Dundonald, Marchmont, Stair, Lords Cobham, Gower, Carteret, Bathurst, and Lord Elphinstone, where, after discoursing upon the matter of the petition of the Scots Lords, the Duke of Roxburgh and Marquis of Tweeddale took up the arguments against it they had used the night before, and had been fully answered, when all seemed to acquiesce, that it was fit and necessary that the petition should be presented; upon which it was answered, that it had been believed that that matter had been looked upon as over and acquiesced in; and that the design of the meeting was only to know how far our English friends would support and advise us. They declined to advise in that matter, but declared they would support us in it when presented; but that the Scots seeming to differ among themselves anent the expediency of presenting any

petition, they must agree that point among themselves. After a good deal of reasoning, the meeting broke up, and another was appointed at the Duke of Queensberry's at six o'clock in the evening, where accordingly met, Duke of Hamilton, Dukes of Queensberry and Montrose, (Roxburgh did not come, having declared he was against presenting any petition,) Marquis of Tweeddale, Earls of Rothes, Strathmore, Kincardine, Dundonald, Marchmont, Stair, and Lord Elphinstone; where, after full and long reasoning, it was agreed as the opinion of all the Lords, except the Marquis of Tweeddale, who desired time to consider till to-morrow morning, that it was fit, nay necessary, to present the petition; and another meeting was appointed at the Duke of Queensberry's, for the next day, the 4th, at eleven of the clock, where the same Lords met, before they went to the meeting at Lord Cobham's, which had been appointed at twelve; and the Marquis of Tweeddale being of opinion against presenting the petition, the other Lords remained of their former opinions. So they went to the meeting at Viscount Cobham's, where were present the Dukes of Bolton, Hamilton, Queensberry, Montrose, Roxburgh, Marquis of Tweeddale, Earls of Winchelsea, Chesterfield, Rothes, Strathmore, Kincardine, Dundonald, Marchmont, Stair, Viscount Cobham, Lords Carteret, Gower, Bathurst, and Lord Elphinstone; Earl of Thanet and Lord Clinton came in a little before the meeting broke up. The

matter was opened by the Duke of Queensberry, who gave account of the resolution to present the petition, if supported in it. The Duke of Roxburgh and Marquis of Tweeddale gave their reasons why they would not concur in it, though they had properly no part nor concern in that meeting, having declared off, the Duke of Roxburgh having declared he would not sign, and the Marquis having desired to have his name taken from the petition. But they were brought to it by Winchelsea and Carteret to support their reasonings. And after several other Lords had spoke to the expediency of petitioning, the Earl of Winchelsea spoke upon the insufficiency of the evidence; and then, Lord Carteret having reasoned upon the same topics, after long reasoning, in which all his objections and arguments were fully answered, and he being pressed home, declared he could not support it, the petition; that he could never argue against his persuasion and conscience, but that he would vote for it. After warm reasoning upon so unexpected a declaration, the meeting broke up in heat, and the members of the Club[1] went and dined together, which passed but heavily.

The reasons against presenting the petition were, that the proofs were not sufficient, and several objections made to them; that they were not all here; that no time would be given to bring them up; that Lord Elphinstone would not be admitted as being

[1] The Liberty Club. See the account of it.

a party; and that, the majority being against us, all advantages would be taken, and even quibbles would be sustained against the petition; to all which it was often answered, that one positive witness to a fact was sufficient for an inquiry, and no more was as yet designed; that the proofs, when brought up, would be sufficient: if they were not, then the blame, if any, must lie on the petitioners, not on those that supported a reasonable petition in order to bring proper evidence; that if sufficient proof was rejected, or time given to adduce it refused; if quibbles were sustained, and unreasonable advantages taken; if unreasonable objections to evidence were sustained, all equally loaded those, however great the majority, in the eye of the world, and all who had any regard to the laws and liberties of their country, who used such shifts.

Though these and many more answers were made, yet Carteret declared that he would not support the petition; that he could never argue in a point against his conscience, and therefore declared his intention before hand, but said he would vote for it.

The meeting broke up in some heat on all sides. Lord Viscount Cobham, at all the meetings from first to last, supported the Scots Lords, and all the steps they [took,] declared the proofs sufficient for to found an inquiry, was for pressing the affair in every shape.

February 6.—The Dukes of Bolton, Queensberry, Hamilton, Montrose, Earls Winchelsea, Chesterfield,

Rothes, Kincardine, Dundonald, Marchmont, Stair; Viscount Cobham; Lords Gower and Bathurst, met at the Duke of Queensberry's, read and considered the petition subscribed in Scotland, and were of opinion that that petition could not be presented, because of several blanks and erasures, that must be both in the title, and of a name, Tweeddale, that must be taken from it, and a new petition to be writ out, subscribed by such of the Scots Lords as are in town, to be presented to the House of Lords; and a meeting to be desired of all the Lords in the opposition, at the Duke of Queensberry's on Sunday the 9th, at seven at night, and messages to be sent to them for that purpose.

February 8.—The Dukes of Bolton, Hamilton, Queensberry, Montrose, Earls of Dundonald, Marchmont, Stair, Viscount Cobham, Lords Gower and Bathurst, and Mr. Dundas, met at the Duke of Queensberry's, and agreed to the draft of a petition, which is in the terms of the resolution offered in the House of Lords last session, and which, by the opinion of Mr. Dundas and those present, can be legally proved by the evidence ready to be adduced.

February 9.—The appointed meeting was kept at the Duke of Queensberry's. Present, the Lords in the list marked.

The Duke of Queensberry opened the meeting with acquainting the Lords present with the design of the meeting. Then the Duke of Montrose gave an account of the steps that had been taken at the

election in Scotland, and also all the steps, that had been taken towards preparing a petition to be presented to the House of Lords, and the difficulties that had been thrown in to prevent its being presented, and the resolution of those Lords, who were concerned in the protests and petition.

Then Earl Marchmont read the petition, and abstracts of the proofs, and evidence, and made some observations on the whole.

The Duke of Bolton spoke strongly in favour of the petition, and the obligations all the Peers, and indeed the whole nation, were under to the noble Lords, for the glorious stand they had made in order to preserve the constitution and liberties, not only of their own country, but of all Britain, and said, he would support the petition with all his might.

Earls Berkshire, Scarsdale, Chesterfield, Coventry, and Denbigh, Lords Gower, and Bathurst, and Viscount Cobham, spoke all to the same purpose. So it was unanimously resolved to support the petition with all vigour; and the Duke of Montrose having gone to the Duke of Bedford, and quietly desired of him to present it, and the Duke of Bedford having agreed to it, and Montrose being come to his place, openly proposed [it] to the meeting. The Duke of Bedford agreed to the proposal very readily, and in a very handsome manner; then, after talking a little of the method of proceeding, which is further to be considered, the meeting broke up.

At a meeting of the 12th at the Earl of Angle-

sea's, present, the Dukes of Bolton, Bedford, Hamilton, Queensberry, Montrose, Earls of Abingdon, Chesterfield, Dundonald, Marchmont, Stair, Stratford, Lords Gower, and Bathurst, the method of proceeding was long debated, and insisted on, that those, that presented the petition, should accuse those that might come out on evidence upon it; but this was not thought proper by the petitioners; and at a meeting at the Duke of Queensberry's on Thursday morning, the 13th, after the Duke of Queensberry and the Earl of Marchmont had been with the Chancellor, and given him a copy of the petition, present, the Dukes of Bolton, Bedford, Hamilton, Queensberry, Montrose, Earls of Chesterfield, Dundonald, Marchmont, Stair, Kincardine, Viscount Cobham, Lords Gower, Bathurst, and Elphinstone, it was settled, that the Duke of Bedford should present the petition, and make a motion for time, and proper process to bring up evidence; that the Earl of Kincardine and Lord Elphinstone should be with Mr. Ross, the solicitor, near at hand, in case called for, to give what evidence might be thought immediately necessary; and that the petitioners should be in the Prince's Chamber: all which was observed.

And when the Duke of Bedford made the motion, and some Lords had spoke to it, the consideration of the petition was put off to Thursday se'ennight, the 20th.

Friday, the 14*th.*—The petitioners waited on the Duke of Bedford, to thank him.

Friday, the 14th February.—The augmentation of the army was carried in the committee of the House of Commons by a majority of fifty-three only. No administration can be supported by a majority of fifty or sixty.

The questions were carried upon Earl Sunderland[1] in the South Sea affair, and Lord Carteret's treaty with Sweden[2], by sixty-three, when all parties were united; and then the administration must have been overturned, but for a new Parliament. Lord Carteret told me this at Lord Cobham's to-day, 17th February.

Memorandum.

January[3] 19, 1735.—A. told me, that B. C. D. and A. had got E. out of the hands of F., by shewing him his situation, and how F. had behaved; that intelligence and advice was given by G., one seem-

[1] From the manner in which this part of the sentence is worded, it will hardly appear that Lord Sunderland was acquitted, as he was in March, 1721.

[2] When she broke up the Congress of Aland, and made a separate peace with Hanover. This debate was in June, 1721. The Parliament was dissolved in March, 1722.

[3] This memorandum evidently refers to contests in the opposition for the management and possession of the Prince of Wales, who must be designated as E. It is printed as affording the first trace of them found in these papers. A decypher of the other letters substituted to names could be only conjectural. Lord Chesterfield was probably A., who told this to Lord Marchmont.

ingly of no consequence. E. keeps a protocol of all that passes. A. has acted with great skill, freedom, and honesty. The instruction and advice well taken and observed by E. The answer, in his own hand-writing, excellent and judicious.

The Earl of Stair[1] *to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.*

[Extract.]

New Liston[2], Dec. 27th, [1735.]

As to the affairs of the world I can say nothing certain to your Lordship, not having heard one single word from any of our friends of England since I left London, nor do I find that any body at Edinburgh knows more than I do. By what I gather, we have had no share in this agreement[3] that appears between the Emperor and France; on the contrary, I should guess that our negociation was to marry Don Carlos to the Emperor's daughter,

[1] Lord Stair, as Admiral of Scotland, had been a victim in 1733.

[2] Lord Stair's seat, near Edinburgh.

[3] The preliminaries of peace between Austria and France. It appears from Coxe's 'Memoirs of Walpole,' that the object of the British government was to induce the Cardinal de Fleury to believe that, if the Emperor was rendered desperate, an arch-duchess would be given in marriage to Don Carlos, and Austria would be thrown into the arms of Spain, and to frighten him, through the apprehension of that result, into concluding peace with his Imperial Majesty upon reasonable terms.

which France, finding out, thought it was better for France to make up matters with the Emperor directly.

I have had a copy of the preliminaries sent me, which, I believe, is the tenour of them which your Lordship has here inclosed.

I likewise send you inclosed a secret article of the treaty of Seville[1]; if that is true, as I find a good many of our friends in England think it is, it will explain Sir Robert's conduct to you with relation to the war. He never durst say one word in public disobliging to either France or Spain, because he knew his head was in their hands. This article, I am told, does now come out by France, upon their being angry both with Spain and Sir Robert. If this article is genuine, I think Sir Robert cannot stand it, with all his gold and all his brass. We need say nothing of it here; if it is true, our friends above, I reckon, will know how to make use of it.

I reckon they will soon say something to their friends that are in Parliament, to let them know something of the state of their party, and what they propose in this session. We that are not in Parliament cannot propose to be of great use, either to our country or to our friends.

[1] The treaty of peace, union, and mutual defence between Great Britain, France, and Spain, concluded at Seville, on the 29th November, 1729.

Sarah Duchess of Marlborough to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

December the last, 1735.

My Lord,

I believe most people would think it proper to make some apology for not thanking you sooner for two letters which you have had the goodness to write to me; but when you consider that I can tell you nothing that is agreeable, and that, when one tells the truth, one is in danger of being put in a prison, or fined for *scandalum magnatum*, though what I am inclined to say is so well known, that it can do nobody any hurt,—you will not wonder at my great caution; but there is nothing new to be said, nor the least hope of any good but from chance. When the Parliament meets, to be sure there is sufficient ground for very good speeches; but I believe they will signify very little, for there is no honour, conscience, or even common sense, in the generality of mankind, which makes me think how much happier you are than those that attend courts, or expect much good from parties, much the greatest part of which are fools governed by knaves, who will give up whatever is most valuable to others, if it suits with any by-interest of their own. What I pity you for most is, that you are, from your retirement, deprived of the pleasure of seeing your sons, one of which I have the happiness

of seeing sometimes, and the other, I am told, is a very valuable young man, and very agreeable, upon which I have begged of Lord Polworth to bring him to see me, and to recommend me to him as one that is a faithful well wisher of your's and of all your family's; and though I have not thought it reasonable for me to trouble you with letters that can have nothing in them, I talk of you very often to my friends, and think of you every day. I don't know whether you read the prints, but I wish you would try upon Saturday the 6th of December, for in that I think there is a better description given of some that I know, than I have seen a great while. It is a long time since I have had the honour to pay my duty at court; but I was told, that very lately a very great lady took occasion publicly in the drawing-room to talk of the poor dear Duke of Marlborough in the most foolish and indecent manner that ever any body did; but I think, what that person says can do nobody any hurt, not even herself, because she never passed one day without affronting some body or other, and sometimes when it is intended for compliments.

I have had the gout lately, but not much pain; but my limbs are weaker than they were, and at my age I cannot expect to continue long, nor have I anything now left to make me desirous of it. I fear, my ridiculous hand will give you some trouble to read, but you will pardon the faults, that I cannot help, and believe, that,

as long as I live, you will have a most faithful, and most humble servant, who has the greatest value imaginable for your merit.

S. MARLBOROUGH[1].

I fear, you are at too great a distance from Lord Stair to have any sort of commerce with him; but, if by chance you should, I beg you will assure him of my sincere humble service.

Plan[2] *(Written in Pencil by Alexander Earl of Marchmont.)*

To begin with strong liberty points, and let the point of the Prince's settlement follow. If, in the present situation, the opposition appear to gain numbers, that must alarm, and bring about a change. A reconciliation is next to impossible. The Queen is quite furious in being disappointed in her hopes of managing the son as she did the father. She overdid and mistook her measures in keeping the son too much under; the game is not to [be] re-

[1] This alone of the Duchess of Marlborough's letters is in her own handwriting; the others are only signed by her.

[2] It should appear that this paper was written after the Prince of Wales's marriage in April, 1736, and before Mr. Pulteney's motion to address the King to settle one hundred thousand pounds a-year on his Royal Highness made in February, 1737.

trieved as so well known never to be trusted; has got the entire mastery of ———, insomuch that when he would tell her any little story, she will scarce deign to hear; notwithstanding, he is quite easy. They have shewed "Craftsmen," "Romps," and "Common Sense," to shew how he is liked; and that only keep matters right and safe.

The Prince not to be diverted from Clivdon[1], though very inconvenient.

The opposition make a harvest for the Swiss. The Duke of Newcastle and others of the ministry resolved to souse Islay. He was saved by Sir Robert. Lord Islay would be glad to get the Marquis of Tweeddale alone. The brothers[2] much dissatisfied; but Islay will never desert Sir Robert.

Alexander Earl of Marchmont to the Earl of Stair.

My dear Lord,

Mr. Baillie's[3] family and I got all safe here on Thursday last, the 18th. I stayed at London some days longer than I intended, and went only once to

[1] Clifden, the Prince's summer residence.

[2] The Duke of Argyle and Lord Islay.

[3] George Baillie of Jerviswood, a man of distinguished worth and high reputation, died at Oxford in 1738. His wife, Lady Grisell Baillie, was Lord

Kensington to kiss their Royal Highness's hands, and see none else of the Royal family. I had the honour to dine with his Royal Highness at his house in Pall Mall. He remembered and spoke of your Lordship with great regard. It is no news to you, and will be no surprise to know, that we are called Jacobites by some, though I believe few will believe it; but one reason for it was new to me, because I never heard you speak of it, and possibly may be so to you, which is, that you came over from the Duke of Marlborough to make up matters with the Jacobite Tories upon the change of the ministry in Queen Anne's time; and that you could not deny it when laid home to you by E— of I—[1] in the presence of a great[2] person, from whom this must have come, and to whom you have sometimes writ. The whole story was laughed at, and little credited, the more that I am brought in for good company, and no other reason that could be given. It is yet doubtful when the K— will be over, though he is much longed for. Many are the ridiculous *affiches* and things that are made and talked, which I am heartily sorry for. My Lord Chesterfield is perfectly well. Mr. Pulteney, who came here before us some days, is much recovered, though in no

Marchmont's sister. He was treasurer-depute, and a privy counsellor in Scotland, and in England a lord of the Admiralty, and then of the Treasury. He resigned in 1725. He sat for Berwickshire in seven Parliaments.

[1] Probably the Earl of Islay.

[2] Probably Queen Caroline. See 'Memoirs,' by the Earl of Orford, 4to. edition, vol. i., p. 192, Note.

great spirits; no wonder; false steps are not always to be retrieved. I went to Windsor Lodge, and dined with her Grace of Marlborough, who is in her usual good spirits; she asked kindly for you. I write this by my servant, who returns with my coach, and have heard nothing else worth your reading. I am,

My dear Lord, ever yours.

Adieu.

Bath, November 21st, 1736.

The Earl of Stair to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

Edinburgh, December 10th, 1736.

My dear Lord,

I am infinitely obliged to your Lordship for your letter of the 21st of November from Bath, which I received yesterday by your servant. I am very glad, that you said your company are arrived safe there, and in good health. I am persuaded, that going about will do your Lordship great good. I wish you could have persuaded our friend the Duke of Montrose to go into a warmer climate, which I think is the best way to re-establish his health, which I think of great value to his country, as well as to his friends. I need not tell you, how much I

respect him for his superior virtue. I love him for having every good quality, that one could desire in a patriot, or wish for in a friend. I wish that he and you may be long preserved, though I cannot foresee that it ever will be in the power of the best man to do any good. The balance of power is so much destroyed by the weak and wicked measures of our ministers, that I am afraid, there is very little hopes, if any, of restoring it again; and upon that balance the wealth and independency of this nation does depend, as every day will more clearly convince us. However, as one does not know the secret springs that Providence may work by, it is to be wished that good men may be preserved. I am glad you have seen his Royal Highness. The only hopes men, that wish well to their country, can have is, in his thinking right, and acting accordingly.

The reproach [which] I know is flung upon us daily from a certain place, of our being Jacobites, does not affect me any other way than by the prospect of what may be the case, when our government shall come to have nothing to depend on but the assistance of their new-listed friends, and some of their old ones, whose fidelity they have already experienced in cases of former danger. For myself, I am not surprised that some people should endeavour to defame me; my little reputation can be of no value to Sir Robert, further than that it is a kind of contradiction to his general rule, that there is really no

such thing as virtue, and that every man will do every thing, if you will but pay him his price. As to the story you mention, it is very agreeable to the common practice of a certain great man, to graft lies upon a stock of truth. The fact I am accused of is true, my Lord; and I am very far from being ashamed of having carried a message, which I think did great honour to the man that sent it. I wonder I never told you the story: I have at different times related it to several others of my friends. I shall relate you the fact in a few words as it really happened. In the year 1711, after Lord Godolphin was turned out, and Earl Oxford was Treasurer, some time before the undertaking the siege of Bouchain, the Duke of Marlborough came to my quarters, when I was ill of an ague; and, in a very long conversation, regretted the unlucky situation of the affairs of the Grand Alliance, and expressed great fear that, after all the blood and treasure that had been employed in a long and successful war, to reduce the exorbitant power of France, and to restore the balance of power in Europe, he said he was very apprehensive, that the fruit of all those labours might be lost, especially by his continuing to command the confederate army, having lost the Queen's favour, and being deprived of the confidence of her ministers. To remedy these great inconveniences he told me, he thought of proposing two things to my Lord Oxford: the first, that he should have leave to retire, and that they should put another

man at the head of the army, in whom the Queen might have entire confidence, to pursue the ends of the Grand Alliance, till the war could be ended by a peace glorious to the Queen, advantageous to the nation, and safe for all the rest of Europe; in which case, he said, he would go home with great pleasure, and heartily pray for the success of the Queen's affairs in the hands of the new general.

The second point was, that if it was thought he, the Duke of Marlborough, could be more useful at the head of the confederate army than any other, he was very willing to continue at the head of the army, the Queen's confidence being restored to him, and to live with Lord Oxford, as he had done with Lord Godolphin. I having approved very much of what my Lord Marlborough proposed, his Grace wrote a letter to the Earl of Oxford, in the terms I have mentioned above. He desired me to carry the letter, which he shewed me, to Lord Oxford, and that I would speak to his Lordship in the same style, and endeavour to procure an answer as soon as possibly I could. I went to London and delivered my Lord Marlborough's letter to Lord Oxford; after many delays, I had at last a very free conference with his Lordship, in which he spoke with great freedom and plainness to me. I thought, by all my Lord said, our conversation was to have ended in establishing a very good understanding between my Lord Treasurer and the Duke of Marlborough; but his Lordship in the end thought fit to say, that he

must defer his declaring his final resolution upon the whole matter till our next conversation, which he faithfully promised me should happen in a very few days. The detail of this conversation was extremely curious, and very well worth your knowledge; but I must delay giving it you at present; if ever we happen to meet, I shall give you a full account of it from day to day. I put my Lord Oxford in mind of finishing our conversation, but to no purpose. In that interval, Mr. Prior had sent you back from France what they took to be a *carte blanche* for settling all the differences in Europe; and in the end, I was allowed to go back to the siege of Bouchain, with a bamboozling letter from my Lord Oxford to the Duke of Marlborough.

At the end of the campaign, 1711, the Duke of Marlborough was turned out, and the Duke of Ormond sent to command the army; what followed, till the death of Queen Ann, your Lordship knows very well, and particularly, whether at any time, or upon any occasion, my conduct was in any degree ambiguous. As to that point, I dare appeal to Sir Robert himself, whether I was to be sold, or whether there was any part of the Tory ministry, that would not have been fond of buying me at any price; but as to the message I carried, which is the point in question, I never denied it at no time, and I am very far from being ashamed of it now. I thought, that a happy conclusion of the war was the end that every honest

man, that loved his country, ought to propose to himself. When the Duke of Ormond came to command the army, I would have served with great zeal under him against France; but when our ministry thought fit to fling themselves into the arms of France, and to separate our army from that of our allies, I appeal to your Lordship, whether I made any servile court at that time, or in the succeeding year, for my own private advantage.

In the late reign, possibly I had greater temptations than any man ever had to be a Frenchman; but I will appeal even to Sir Robert, who may be master of all my public letters, and most of my private letters, whether I ever swerved one moment from my duty to my King, and to my country; whether I did not at all times advise our court to be jealous of France, and to lean strongly against her growing power. In this reign I have held the same conduct. Your Lordship knows, if I have not at all times, in season and out of season, to the Queen and to the minister, represented the pernicious consequences of uniting the Houses of Bourbon, and of increasing their power. I need say nothing to your Lordship in justification of my conduct in domestic affairs. The motives that determined your Lordship and me to oppose the measures of the minister were the same. We thought, that the minister's prospects to alter the constitution, by diminishing the power and independency of Parliament, and increasing the power of the Crown, were

equally hurtful and dangerous to all our fellow subjects, and their posterity for ever, and to the true interest of the royal family itself. We had seen King James lose the crown for endeavouring to introduce arbitrary power, and we were apprehensive that attempts of the like nature might be of dangerous consequence to the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover. It is very true, that in the opposition we have made to the ministers' measures, we have had the assistance of many persons, who have been called by [the] name of Tories; but I am very far from being ashamed to take the assistance of Tories to preserve our constitution; and I defy Sir Robert to say, that I joined in the opposition to his measures because he refused to gratify my avarice, or my ambition. But this letter is already swelled to a length I am afraid will be tiresome to you; you will have difficulty to read it, especially the beginning of it, which is wrote with ill ink.

There is one circumstance in your letter I had forgot to answer, and that is, this story having been laid to my charge by a very great person, in presence of Lord I——. I do not remember that that person ever spoke to me of that story; I am pretty sure they never did; but I am very sure that person, nor any other, ever spoke to me upon that subject before Lord I——. I have never had any communication with that great man since the first

weeks of King George the First's accession to the crown.

I can tell you nothing new from hence. Our army is going into winter-quarters; and, after all the rout has been made about Porteous's murder, the inquiry about that matter is to fall to the ground, which, I think, is something more extraordinary than ever was seen in any country, to let such an insult upon a government go unpunished.

I beg you will give my hearty service to your friends at Bath. I wish you may all pass the winter agreeably, and in good health. It will always be a very great pleasure to me [to] keep a correspondence with you. I can assure you with great truth, that there is not one man living that loves and honours you more than

Your most faithful servant,

STAIR.

I beg you will give my hearty service to Mr. Pulteney. I am very glad to hear [he] is so well recovered. I do not wonder, that the present situation of our affairs, foreign and domestic, do not give a great deal of spirit to a man, who knows so much of them as he does.

The Duke of Montrose to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

Cley[1], Monday, March 28th, 1737.

I find some of the Lords of Justiciary, and sundry lawyers, are ordered to attend the House of Lords.

I expect to see my son here some time next week, who, I suppose, will explain some things with relation to that inquiry[2], as to which I am at present in the dark.

Extract of a Letter.

[2] Sunday, half an Hour after Two, Sept. 11th, 1737.

Friday, a general council was held at Hampton Court, the result of which was, that the Dukes of

[1] In Norfolk, a residence at that time of the Duke of Montrose.

[2] The inquiry respecting Porteous's murder, the result of which was an act of Parliament so utterly incommensurate with the facts of that atrocious outrage, as to give weight to a note made on that transaction by a man of great sagacity of the last generation in the following words: 'I am persuaded, from information from various quarters, that neither Lord Islay, or any other Scotsman in authority, chose to encounter the unpopularity of bringing the delinquents to punishment.' Even Lord Islay's right-hand man, the Lord Chief-Justice Clerk, expressed himself thus, writing nine days after the perpetration of this heinous offence: 'As there is an end of government, if such practices be suffered to escape punishment,' &c.

[2] This paper has neither address nor signature. It should appear from it that

Grafton[1] and Richmond[2], with the Earl of Pembroke[3], brought a message to the Prince yesterday to retire from St. James's. Accordingly he goes

whatever were the merits or demerits of his Royal Highness's conduct in the matter, which led to the King's message, he acted in it on his own views exclusively, since he had no adviser at hand. This paper is evidently an extract from a letter. It is probable that it was addressed to Alexander Lord Marchmont, for his information and Lord Polwarth's, and that he made this extract as a memorandum for himself, and sent the original on to his son. We find him at Kew on the 13th of the next month.

The last paragraph refers in bitter sarcasm to the misunderstanding which took place between George the First and the Prince of Wales, afterwards George the Second. There was a sufficient similarity in the circumstances of these two unfortunate differences to attract attention to it. As it refused to Frederick Prince of Wales, so did the House of Commons refuse a separate revenue of one hundred thousand pounds to George the Second, when Prince of Wales. A family occurrence, in the one a lying-in, in the other a christening, led to the difference in each case. The Prince and Princess of Wales were commanded to leave St. James's Palace in both cases; and the following letter from Sir Gustavus Hume (who was a Groom of the Bedchamber to George the First) to Alexander Earl of Marchmont, shews other resembling features. His sister was the first wife of Lord Polwarth, Alexander Earl of Marchmont's eldest brother.

[Copy.] *London, Dec. 24th*, 1717.

I beg your pardon, my dear Lord, for having been so long without paying my respects to you in a letter, but I have been out of town, and was so when all the bustle happened at St. James's, the news of which I dare say you received with the utmost surprise. The Prince and Princess, after having been both very ill, are now perfectly recovered; they are still at my Lord Grantham's, in Albemarle-street, where they saw company last Sunday for the first time. I am told, his Highness's levee was very slender, not above three or four noblemen, and they such as have not appeared at St. James's of a long time. All such as are admitted to the King's court are under strict orders not to go at any time to the Prince or Princess's, more particularly all of us that have the honour to be immediately in his Majesty's service. This unhappy difference gives a sensible disturbance to all honest men, and as much pleasure to all those that are enemies to the family; and though nothing is so much to be wished

[1] Lord Chamberlain. [2] Master of the Horse. [3] Groom of the Stole.

with his family to Kew to-morrow; and this day the order has been communicated to the foreign ministers, with a desire not to frequent that family, as a thing that will be disagreeable to his Majesty. The Prince has nobody to confer with here, Earl Chesterfield being new recovered of a fever. I fancy your son's and your coming instantly to town might be useful, and certainly acceptable. I have sent to his house for a messenger, having none of my own.

It is great filial duty in a son to justify his father's memory after his death, and to follow his steps.

as a re-union, yet I see but very little appearance of it, no material step, that I know of, being yet made towards it; nor do I see how this difference can end, unless a certain person be prevailed on to reflect on his being both a son and a subject. The translations of three of the Prince's letters to the King have appeared in print, by what means I know not. I send your Lordship copies of them. The King, I thank God, is in perfect good health, and has the same cheerful, unruffled countenance he ever had. His Majesty diverts himself three times a week in the drawing-room, where he never fails to play at ombre, and where the ladies appear in greater numbers than they did before the separation. Your Lordship no doubt has the votes sent regularly to you. The closest division that has been this session was upon the quantum for paying the army, which the court carried in a very full House but by fourteen voices. In this and all other divisions the Prince's servants have generally voted against the court. Both Houses adjourned yesterday for three weeks, and all the material business of the session is looked upon as over. The Lords have scarce had anything to do.

I wish your Lordship health and happiness, and a merry Christmas, and am ever yours.

We have a new comedy, 'The Nonjuror,' which is much followed. The King went to see it last Thursday. I think it the best pamphlet [that] has been writ for the government; I wish I could send it you when published.

Alexander Earl of Marchmont to the Marquis of Tweeddale[1].

[Extract.]

There was something uncommon in the bills which more particularly related to Scotland[2], as well as in the transactions in both Houses, while they depended. It is not easy to guess what the dregs of those transactions may produce next session.

Alexander Earl of Marchmont to the Earl of Stair.

Ealing, Sept. 28th, 1737.

My dear Lord,

I have had no letter from you of a great while; and as letters are opened at the post, I have not writ of late. This comes by a servant I have sent express, and have, by order, sent the inclosed papers, that will set the affair[3] that has lately happened in the royal family in a true and just light. Your Lordship will communicate them to our friends; only, care must be had that copies be not taken;

[1] This letter has no date, but from a passage in it, not printed, it appears to have been written about the end of September, 1737.

[2] The Parliamentary proceedings respecting the murder of Porteous, in the session which opened on the 1st February, 1737, must be here mainly referred to.

[3] The rupture between the King and the Prince of Wales.

and, above all, that they be not printed, or made too public at present. I have writ to the Duke of Montrose, the Marquis of Tweeddale, Lord E——, and Mr. Erskine of Grange, that they would see them. Your Lordship knows the operations of last session fully from those who were present, so I need not mention what was public. It is certain that the management in Scotland was not approved of at court, and that the managers were for some time in danger of being called to an account, it being thought that the King's government had been affronted[1], as unquestionably it was; but matters of nearer concern to some saved them at last; which however created such a jealousy and misunderstanding, as is not always easily and entirely removed. It is believed, the Houses will be very full at the very opening of the sessions, if it was only out of curiosity.

A reconciliation is looked upon next to impossible; but I need write no more on the subject, since you have inclosed a letter from Lord Chesterfield. Carteret, Mr. Pulteney, and others, will act roundly.

I have not seen the Duchess of Marlborough of late; she is at Wimbleton, and, as I am told, in pretty good health; you know, she always has good spirits. I am, my dear Lord,

Most faithfully yours.

[1] The murder of Porteous must be the affront here referred to.

A Memorandum by Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

Thursday, October 13th, 1737.—I went to Kew. His Royal Highness came down in his night-gown, and then he told me, that Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Harrington[1] came to wait of him the morning after the Princess was brought to bed; that he had not slept that night, and was a-bed; however, though they had no message, lest anything should be made of it, he would not refuse to see them, though well he might. In discourse, he told them, that the Princess having been ill the week before, he had been twice or thrice in town to get advice of his physicians, and Mrs. Cannon, the midwife, lest it might be her pains, though long before her reckoning; and they assured him, they were not her pains, but a colic; and said, Sir Robert and Lord Harrington had gone away, and set down in writing and reported what he had said in common discourse, and blamed them for it, *which undoubtedly he had great reason to do.*

I said, that his Royal Highness knew Lord Harrington; that he was a good-natured honest man; but that I did not think he was of very great reach; and his Royal Highness knew, he did nothing but as directed.

[1] Home Secretary of State.

Friday 14*th*.—I was in to see Lord Chesterfield. He told me, that upon seeing the King's message[1], it was apprehended that a story had been made, which had occasioned that part of it, 'under the 'pains and certain indications of immediate labour, '&c.,' but that now it was come out; that the morning after the Princess was brought to bed, Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Harrington went to see the Prince; and that the Prince had said to them in discourse, that he had been twice or thrice in town the week before with the Princess, she being ill, believing her illness were her true pains; that after a good deal of discourse they went away; and when ever they were gone, Sir Robert said to Lord Harrington, 'My Lord, this discourse is of too great 'consequence to be forgot; let us go and put it in 'writing;' and accordingly they went to Lord Harrington's house, and Sir Robert put it in writing, and carried it to court. The Prince says, that he did not say, that he believed her illness were her true pains, but that he carried her to town to have the advice of physicians and Mrs. Cannon, being apprehensive it might be her pains; and there having been not the least preparation for it, even when she was brought to bed after, is a plain proof of it.

What does one deserve who goes and puts in writing what passes in private conversation, to make a bad use of it? But what does he deserve, who puts a private discourse in writing, and reports

[1] That of the 3d August, 1737.

it to the King, to alienate and inflame against a Prince of Wales, the apparent heir of the crown[1]?

Lady Murray[2] to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

Oxford, Nov. 8th, 1737.

My dearest Uncle,

Mr. Hay told us he had it in a letter from London, that the Prince's friends were all divided amongst themselves; some were for a reconciliation, some against it, particularly Lord Cobham and Mr. Pulteney for it, and Lord Chesterfield and Lord Carteret against it; that it was very generous and disinterested in Lord Cobham to be for that measure, since certainly it could not be for his own interest, but for the good of the family, and for the good of the whole. This intelligence, I reckon, comes from Lord Oxford; he has been twice here lately, in his way to and from the Bath, and stayed with Mr. Hay two or three days at a time; or it may be a court story; he is a King's chaplain, and seems to favour that side, though he is very cautious in speaking.

[1] The following words occur in the King's message to the Prince of Wales, of the 10th September, 1737: 'You removed the Princess twice in the week immediately preceding the day of her delivery from the place of my residence, in expectation, as you have voluntarily declared, of her labour.'

[2] This amiable and accomplished lady was the eldest daughter of Lady Grisell Baillie, Lord Marchmont's sister, and of Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood.

The Earl of Stair to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

January 1st, 1738.

I shall only trouble your Lordship with my thoughts upon two points; the first is, that all possible care should be taken to unite all the different pieces that compose your party into one body, so that they may act by one spirit, and by one counsel. If that should happen, I dare pronounce that Sir Robert, with all disadvantages he labours under at present, could not stand against such a party, under such a head; but it may very well be, that it may prove a very difficult matter to unite all the different pieces, of which the opposing party is made up, into one body, nay, it may be impossible, for any thing I know; but there is another thing which does not depend upon many different persons, which, if steadily pursued, must, in a very little time, get the better of all opposition, and that is, the conduct of the P—— of W——. . . . . .

. . . . . .

If, by his conduct, steady and uniform, it appears, as well as by his words, that he is really a friend to liberty, and that it appears by his actions, and the actions of his friends, that he does not desire that the King should have more power than our constitution allows,—I say such a conduct will very soon give the Prince such a character, as will unite all

the true lovers of their country in his favour; and they will look upon the Protestant succession as the greatest, and indeed the only security of the liberty of the subject, and as the firm barrier against popery and arbitrary power.

It may be asked, what influence the Prince's good character will have upon the King and his conduct? It is my opinion it may have a very great influence, and very soon, though not directly. There are gentlemen of figure in the House of Commons, who have good stakes in the nation, who, I know, think of Sir Robert and his administration just as you and I do, and who own, that whilst Sir Robert is minister, things can never take a better turn, and yet, for one consideration or other, they have all along voted with Sir Robert. I do not know, but that some of these gentlemen may think that this is a proper time to change their conduct.

I think such folks should be talked to by proper persons, in a proper manner; in my own knowledge, I know some in that situation, and to be sure there are more that I do not know. To be sure, Mr. Pulteney will speak to somebody that he knows. I have spoken, and I shall speak to other persons, possibly not without effect. But there is another class, much more numerous indeed, who have voted all along with the minister, not out of affection to him, or because they thought his cause was right, but because it was useful to themselves so to do. A great many of such wise men, whenever they

can calculate that there are more chances for Sir Robert's falling than for his standing, will vote on [the] opposing side without any ceremony; such people should be talked to likewise in their own way.

I am ignorant of secret history, but in former times there have been negociations with the P——; possibly such negociation may be renewed, and there may be new ones. If by all these means, or by any of them, Sir Robert's partisans should happen to be the minority, one single vote of the House of Commons would make all that enchantment, that deludes his Majesty, disappear. He would then see Sir Robert in his true light, the only author of all his distresses at home and abroad; and he would then see very plainly, that the patriots were very far from meaning him any hurt, or to his just power, but, on the contrary, that they were the only friends he had to trust, embarked, they and their family, by principle, interest, and inclination, to support him and the Protestant succession against the Pretender, popery, and arbitrary power.

I have touched some [of] the advantages of our side, which we had not formerly; but, besides these, I am persuaded, that Sir Robert does now feel in himself, and in many pieces of his party, weaknesses which were not to be felt before the Queen's death[1]. Of such things probably you will know a great deal more than I can do. I have heard from very good hands, that last year Sir Robert's health

[1] On the 20th November (O. S.), 1737.

was very much decayed; that he had very great jealousies of almost all the heads of his party; that in many things there was a very ill understanding amongst them. If that was the case last year, as I am very sure it was, one has reason to imagine that this year differences, and wider differences, may arrive at the top of the party; if that happens, it is easy to foresee in what manner the tail will be affected.

My Lord, I have already made my letter much too long, especially considering the difficulty you may have to read it; but I cannot conclude it without saying one word of what I think might probably be the case, if his Majesty should change his measures and his minister. One plain advantage at home would be, that the King and his people would then have the same interest, and be united in one body; from that moment the King would be at the head of all the Protestant interest in Germany, which would be a very great support to them, and a very great strength to us. In that case the unnatural conjunction, that now appears between the House of Austria[1], and France, would soon be dissolved, and the Emperor would return back to his natural connection with us; in the mean time, that measures of the French court, and the minister[2] that governs,

[1] The consequence of the conduct held by England towards the Emperor, when at war, in 1734 and 1735, with France, Spain, and Sardinia, who had attacked him.

[2] The Cardinal de Fleury. France had three especial objects of aggrandisement in Europe, which her statesmen said would be 'le plus bel arrondissement de son pré'—Savoy, the Low Countries, and Lorraine; and that last-

seem to promise us, that we have nothing violent to apprehend immediately. In a little while, may be, the most violent and powerful of our enemies might possibly think twice before they undertook any overt act against us.

I can tell you nothing new from hence. The President[1] seems to behave himself very fairly as a judge. He certainly is naturally a very honest, uncorrupt man; in public matters he thinks just as we do, that the affairs of the nation at home and abroad are in the most dangerous disorder, which cannot be remedied whilst Sir Robert is minister; but with all that I should not answer but that, if he was to be [in] Parliament, he might be led astray to do very wrong things, so very inconsistent is mankind very often with itself. When you write to the Duke of Montrose, assure his Grace of my most hearty love and service; and it is a very great satisfaction to me to hear that your sons behave themselves in Parliament as they do. My service to Cobham, who is a man, and a man of honour. I salute all our friends.

I am ever, my dear Lord,
Your most faithful and affectionate servant,
STAIR.

You will shew my letter to the Earl of Chesterfield and Lord Cobham.

mentioned magnificent province she had just then acquired, so that her ambition was quieted for the moment.

[1] Duncan Forbes, of Culloden.

Lady Murray to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

Oxford, Feb. 3d, 1738.

My dearest Uncle,

I think as I did, that all your consultations will come to nothing, but Sir Robert outwit you every one. If your head[1] yields, and gets to Bath to be out of the way, what is to be expected from others? You have a sad pack to deal with, which you are in

[1] Mr. Pulteney is probably meant. In a copy of Pope's 'Satires,' published in this same year, 1738, and belonging to Hugh Earl of Marchmont, are written by him, in pencil on the margin, the names of the persons who are more or less obscurely designated by the poet. His close intimacy with Pope, one of whose executors he was, leaves no doubt but that he wrote those names on full advisement. A reference to them would in some instances give new lights, in others confirm conjectures already made.

In what was then the first satire the twenty-fourth line runs thus :—

'Patriots there are who wish you'd jest no more ;'

and opposite to the word 'Patriots' are written, 'Carteret and Pulteney.'

This correspondence indicates jealousies and divisions in the opposition, which had their full effect on Sir Robert Walpole's retirement, and subsequently.

The 'Bubo' of that satire, as was supposed, was Bubb Dodington. 'His Grace,' who pockets a will, was meant to be the Archbishop of Canterbury, although, if the sarcasm be founded on a matter stated by Lord Orford and Coxe, it does not appear to be correct. Lady Mary Wortley is twice satirized in these verses; in the second instance, where she is especially attacked for conduct held by her towards her sister, the person denigrated is described as a Peeress, which she was not. This stratagem, to mislead partially, Pope has used elsewhere.

Mr. Fox is meant in another part of the satire, where reference is made to Lord Hervey also.

The persons, whose stars are mentioned, were the King and the Prince of Wales. The blanks should be filled by the words 'George' and 'Frederick.'

no way cut out for. I only wish you may always consider them in that light, and have some thought for yourself, without trusting too much to others; I doubt not they will be ready to ask your advice, and take all the assistance you can give them, and there leave you. I know you will answer me, 'What then? it is my country only I think of;' but can you support it alone?—or grant there be two or three more, which, I am afraid, is saying too much, it is only running your head against a hard wall. I heartily wish you may not find it turn out so, and you only be made the cat's foot. Is it not very impertinent to imagine you do not see all this, if it is to be seen? but I know one's own good intentions often blind them, that they see not deceit in others, when they feel it not in themselves.

The Duke of Montrose to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

Cley, Feb. 17th, 1738.

All I have to trouble your Lordship with now, is singly with concern to observe the deadness and want of spirit, which seems to prevail so universally in the present age. I live, it is true, in ignorance

of what passes, for I have no correspondences; but if there was virtue left amongst us, some instances of it behoved now and then to shine out; but indeed I am afraid it is all over with us; or at least that it is so confined, that one must be satisfied with a quiet mind. What our posterity will think of us, is easy to imagine, unless we may suppose, that, from the indolent example set before them, a polite generation shall arise that will not give themselves the trouble to make reflections on what is past.

Alexander Earl of Marchmont to the Duke of Montrose.

[Extract.]

Ealing, Feb. 28th, 1738.

I know not what posterity may think of us, but I am of opinion they can scarcely think worse of us generally, than what we deserve.

Alexander Earl of Marchmont to the Duke of Montrose.

Ealing, May 12th, 1738.

My Lord,

I shall not pretend to give your Grace an account of what passed in the Houses of Parliament the last session; Lord Graham will do it much better by word of mouth; and indeed it is scarce significant enough to trouble you with it.

What happened[1] a few months before the meeting of Parliament raised every body's expectation very high; and there seemed good reason for it. The ministry are deservedly under great apprehensions and fears; and if the leaders of the other party had acted with vigour, in all human probability there must have been a great change of measures; but that has not been the case. Though I had a very bad state of health, I went frequently to town at the beginning of the Parliament, to try if there was any possibility to get those I thought most concerned to act with spirit, foreseeing what must be the consequence of inactivity at that time, when so much was reasonably expected. I observed to them, that every one did not act from principle—that many would not have patience—and that the waverers on the other side would be

[1] The rupture between the King and the Prince of Wales, in September, 1737. Parliament met on the 24th January, 1738.

made as firm as ever, if nothing was done; that action ever hindered desertion of one's own people. All this was allowed to be so, and yet the leaders could not be brought to act with vigour—scarce to have a meeting; and indeed there were very few, and none to any purpose. Other members were tried, who might have acted without the leaders; and they in that case must have joined them at last, as happened upon another occasion remarkable to them; but they were unwilling to risk a breach among themselves, although desertion, the worst breach that can be, must ever be the consequence of inactivity. The reasons given for this management, though, I doubt, not the true ones, were, the want of right points to push, and that points must arise from the other side. It was in vain to observe that there could not be the least hopes, that any point would be given by the other side; in their situation they would be glad to get the session over any how; nor was it to any purpose to mention points—the depredations by the Spaniards, and the suffering of the merchants; it was answered, that must arise from the merchants themselves; and from them at last it did arise, but too late. The affair of the P——[1] was likewise mentioned; that was put off, as what must arise from him. The freedom of the press, and other points spoke of, had all the same . . . .[2] for reasons that did not appear very convincing; in short, I look, as several others do, upon

[1] The Prince of Wales.

[2] The word is effaced.

the opposition as at an end. If the constitution and liberties of this country are to be saved, and from what incidents it may happen, is not easily to be foreseen. When I saw how matters went, I returned to the country, [and] went only to town to see Lords Chesterfield and Cobham, and my children. The two I have named see matters in the same light, without a view or possibility to help them. The management this winter has been much of a piece with that of our petition, and possibly from the same views and motives. What surprised me most was to see that the P.'s situation influenced so little both views and measures.

I am almost resolved to [go to] Scotland this summer, since there is so little prospect of doing any good here.

The Duke of Marlborough must have surprised your Grace. He goes now through thick [and thin] on all points, which, after making the first step, everything considered, is not to be wondered at. He will pay dear for it; he will not get a shilling that the Duchess Dowager has to dispose of. The D—— of B———, who stayed in the country till he saw nothing was to be done, before he made a false step, was not so thorough paced; he scrupled at some questions, and would have divided against the court, if they had been pushed.

I have not had an occasion to write to my Lord Stair of late by a sure hand; he has no loss; he had what passed from a much better hand. The

Duchess of Marlborough told me she writ things she doubted would be safe for me to write, and surely did it with vastly more spirit. I must beg of your Grace to let him know what I have here writ; he will not doubt of my friendship.

I am, with the greatest respect,
Your Grace's most obedient,
And most humble servant,
MARCHMONT.

From Alexander Earl of Marchmont to the Duke of ——[1].

[Extract.]

Ealing, Dec. 16th, [1738.]

Your Grace has seen in the prints how much their Royal Highnesses charmed everybody at Bath and Bristol with their gracious and obliging behaviour; they returned to Kew on Sunday se'nnight, and are in very good health.

The Earl of Stair to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

New Liston, Jan. 18th, 1739.

My dear Lord,

I thank your Lordship for your letter of the 16th December by Mr. Hamilton, which I received

[1] Montrose probably.

ten days ago. I am glad you are in good health, which I heartily wish may continue long.

I was very glad to see, by the prints, that the people in [the] west seemed to like their Royal Highnesses, and their behaviour[1]; I should reckon it the greatest of misfortunes if the people should come to tire of the Protestant succession.

I have some impatience to know what his Majesty will say to his Parliament relating to the treaty[2] with Spain. I can hardly believe that the Spaniards will by treaty give up the searching of our ships, which our minister has so long warranted them to do; and without that point is settled by treaty according to the resolution of the House of Lords, I do not conceive how our trade to the West Indies can be secure by any other conditions, for, whatever limits may be fixed, the Spaniards must always be judges, whether our ships searched are within or without that line.

I have seen enough of men and of things not to be very sanguine in my expectations at this time; I wish I may be agreeably disappointed.

As to myself, my ways of thinking are the very same you have known them. I am in much better health than I have been for some years last past; but as I find I can be of very little use to my country, I draw myself closer and closer within my own

[1] When at Bath.

[2] The Convention signed at Madrid by Mr. Keene and M. de la Quadra, for terminating the differences between England and Spain; it bore date the 14th January, (N.S.) 1739.

sphere, which is a very small one. I have every day more respect and esteem for a very few persons, when I compare them and their behaviour with the rest of mankind. You will give my humble service and best wishes to Lord Chesterfield, Lord Cobham, and the Duke of Montrose, whom I love and honour. On Saturday, I shall drink his Royal Highness' health here with some of his humble servants.

My dear Lord, I wish you all manner of happiness. I am ever, with the sincerest esteem and respect,

Your most faithful humble servant,

STAIR.

I shall send her Grace of Marlborough, in a few days, some papers I promised her.

The night between Saturday and Sunday last, we had the most terrible storm of wind I ever saw, which [has] done a world of damage, and tore up trees by the roots without number; my old trees here are almost all gone; the wind was at south-west. I believe it will be found that the track of the storm was not very broad: it generally happens so in such cases.

Extract of a Letter from Alexander Earl of Marchmont to the Duke of Montrose, dated London, January 27th, 1739.

The Parliament was full for a fortnight; the express with the convention[1] or treaty having arrived only the day before it should have met. . . . . Sir Robert [Walpole] has given out in public, that it is as good as he could wish to have it. . . . .

. . . . . .

How it will come, or be received, I cannot take upon me to guess. I need not tell your Grace what I have been doing, nor how I find matters. As to the first, it ever has and will be the same, and you know it. As to the last, there is some little alteration, though not what one could wish it. King William's observation of "Steady! Steady!" is overmuch wanted; I know not from what cause. There has been much talk of negociations having been carried on; if they ever were, they are at present much denied, and pains taken to persuade there have none been. However, to me that has not that way of thinking nor acting, it must seem mighty odd to meet with fire and flame in the morning, and ice and snow at night; and yet all hope is not lost that this affair may have very considerable

[1] With Spain.

consequences, even this session, to the advantage of this country. There have as yet been no meetings that I know of. All the members are not yet come to town; I am told, there will be soon.

[The Names in the following Memorandums are written in a Cypher, to which there is a Key.]

Memorandum (by Alexander Earl of Marchmont.)

January 31*st*, 1739.—Having been told by Lord Gower, that Mad[e] Hope[1] came up to the Prince of Wales on Thursday the 25th, at the masquerade, and asked if he was afraid to talk to a lady, and brought Mad[e] Walmoden[2] to him, who proposed some things to him, and talked of being reconciled to his father, and they agreed to meet [at] another masquerade better disguised, the Earl of Marchmont took to-day an opportunity to speak to the Prince of Wales upon that matter, at a distance, without seeming to know anything of what had happened, and had near an hour's conversation with him, wherein he laid out to him the danger of jealousies and suspicions—the hurt that the surmise of a negociation by Lord Carteret and Mr. Pulteney had done; that the talk of his going to the court on

[1] Probably Madame Hop, wife of the Dutch minister in London.

[2] The Countess of Yarmouth.

his birth-day had done harm; the bad consequences which must inevitably follow; he would be at mercy, [and] lose the interest he had gained, which was a great security to the establishment, to himself, and to the whole family; that he [might] see clearly enough the great ground he had gained in the hearts of the people; that those most loved and respected by the people, and of unblemished characters, were about him. He assured him, he would never make any dishonourable terms, and added, if his money was offered, he must take it; and, if ordered to go to court, he must go; but wished that might not happen. However, he never would speak to Sir Robert Walpole; and if the courtiers came to him, which they might do, he would speak to them, but never to him, Sir Robert. I answered, his money was his own, and it had been asked by Parliament for him; as to the other, I could say nothing, but wished it might not happen, because of the bad consequences it might have; touched again upon them, and shewed the advantages and safety to the Prince to govern by the hearts of the people.

February 1*st*, 1739.—Lord Cobham told Lord Marchmont of a project of Lord Carteret and Mr. Pulteney having been formed to get the Prince of Wales into their hands, by which they might have made a property of him; and, to make it visible, designed to get Judge Denton turned out, and Mr. Bootle put into his place. Mr. Pulteney went, and desired it of the Prince of Wales, as the greatest

favour could be done him. Lord Carteret asked the same thing, and held out how necessary it was to oblige Mr. Pulteney; and then the Earl of Winchelsea went, to shew of what consequence it was to please the other two. But as soon as the Earl of Chesterfield and Lord Cobham heard of it, they went and prevented it.

Memorandum.

Feb. 2*d*, 1738-9.—I read the P.S. of St—'s[1] letter of the 18th January, to the Duchess of Marlborough, that he should send to her Grace some papers he had promised her, in a few days. She desired me to tell him, when I writ to him, that he needed give himself no trouble in that matter; and told me, the papers were his settlements, which she had nothing to do with; that she had let him have 1000*l.* some time ago, and lately 4000*l.*, to extricate his affairs; and desired I would not speak of it to anybody[2].

[1] Lord Stair's. See p. 101.

[2] This communication was probably made by the Duchess of Marlborough to Lord Marchmont, in consequence of his being one of her executors, as well as a friend of Lord Stair. The codicil to her will proves how well she kept her word, both as to what she told Lord Marchmont, and as to what she desired him to say to Lord Stair. In it she desires Lord Stair to pay to Lady Stair, out of the thousand pounds which he owed her on bond, and out of the interest due on it, for certain things which she had bought for her in France, and of which she always declined stating the cost; and her Grace then gives him the overplus; and she directs that no demand shall ever be made on him for other sums, which he may appear to have received of her, but for which she took no security.

Extract of a Letter from Alexander Earl of Marchmont to the Duke of Montrose.

London, Feb. 10th, 1739.

The convention comes out infinitely worse, and less satisfactory than anybody expected. . . . .

. . . . . .

There was warm speaking in both Houses the first day of the Parliament. The Peers did not divide; the Commons did, 197 to 230, upon address or not. All the Prince of Wales's family voted against addressing.

The same to the same.

[Extract.]

London, Feb. 23d, 1739.

The Prince is hearty; and all his servants vote, to a man, for the interest of the country, which indeed is his.

Alexander Earl of Marchmont to the Earl of Stair.

[Extract.]

London, Feb. 28th, 1738-9.

The West India merchants and proprietors in Jamaica and the colonies were heard[1] by *themselves* (counsel was not allowed them) at the Bar of the House of Lords yesterday, for seven or eight hours. They acquitted themselves well, and adduced their evidence, and laid their matters strongly and clearly before the House. The Prince of Wales was there all the time, and gave great attention, which pleased most that were present mightily; and I am persuaded was more affected with it than any that heard it.

Extract of a Letter from Alexander Earl of Marchmont to the Duke of Montrose.

London, March 10th, 1739.

Matters are at present in a very odd situation. How they will come to right, I cannot pretend to guess. . . . . .
The Commons were Thursday till after twelve

[1] On their petition relating to the convention with Spain.

at night, upon a question upon a motion for an address approving the convention, when it was carried 260 to 232. Many spoke well against it; and yesterday they were upon the report till after ten. The debate was carried [on] by the old members, and of most weight, when in their speeches they declared they would come no more to the House if that question was carried. However, carried it was by 244 to 214; and I am told that the members are to return no more to the House upon public business. People as yet are at a gaze, and doubtful how it will turn out. The city is in a flame, and almost nobody pleased. The prints shew Sir Robert's guard in a ridiculous enough light. He is certainly distressed, and with good reason.

From Alexander Earl of Marchmont to the Earl of Stair.

My dear Lord,

Though I have now got an opportunity of writing safely by Sir Charles Gylmour[1], the Duchess of Marlborough, who has writ often and freely, by the post, and sent you the convention, and other papers, has left me very little to write that will be

[1] Then member for the shire of Edinburgh.

either new or entertaining; however you shall have the most material things as they occur to me. The late step[1] taken by the minority, to shew to the world our present situation, and how insignificant the opposition of so many and so considerable members is, to hinder measures contrary to the honour, and in a great measure the very being of this nation from being taken, is, and has been, the subject of all discourse for some time. Before it was rightly apprehended, people knew not what [to] think or say of it; they were apprehensive it would throw us into confusion; and that more must be designed by it; now that it is more thoroughly examined and known, it is more approved of and liked, and consequently hurts some people the more. All the opposition hitherto did not point out the sore so palpably; it must now, in all human appearance, effectually operate a remedy, not only such as must affect the present administration, but whatever may succeed it; so that we have now good ground to hope, that what we have so long and so often wished for may be brought to bear; that the constitution may be restored in some measure; and the happiness of this nation and the safety of the present establishment fixed upon a surer and more lasting foundation. Very few of those that were of the minority go to the House, except when they go upon the account of a private bill which concerns the corporation for which they were chose; and

[1] The secession from the House of Commons.

when that is over, they retire, and there, I am persuaded, it will continue for this session at least. I see nobody that believes Sir Robert will stand another; he is so imbayed, it is not possible he can get out, and indeed his situation is such, that I think no man would choose to be in his place. The Duke of Argyle[1] still keeps his places; some think they will turn him out, others think they will not; it is talked, that Islay says, he cannot serve if his brother is turned out; no doubt he would be glad that it was believed, which, I am told, it is not, and that the Duke appears very indifferent in the matter. The step taken by the minority does him great honour and good service. No doubt you have heard of Sir Robert Walpole's rudely disobliging the Prince. When a deputation was appointed to compliment him, Sir Robert called across the House to Alderman Heathcote[2], who was one of those named to go,—'Take a bank bill of 20,000*l.* with you; he needs it; he will touch.' You may guess how this is taken; and I am told, he has called the Prince one of the pretenders to the King's crown, one at Rome, the other at Norfolk House[3]. What does not such a fellow deserve? What do you think of all this flagitious madness from one in his situation? The Duchess of Marlborough shewed

[1] The Duke of Argyle spoke at great length, and with some asperity, against the ministry on the convention.

[2] Then one of the members for Southwark; in the next Parliament he served for the city of London.

[3] The Prince of Wales's town residence.

me a drawing, which points out his deserved exit. You know where it came from. I have for some time seen Lord Bolingbroke frequently; the more I know of him, I esteem him the more. We owe him a great deal; it would be too long to mention particulars. He desired me to make his compliments to you, which I did, or ought to have done in my last. All our friends are well, and in spirits, only Chesterfield was obliged to go to Bath; he is much better, and will be back again in about three weeks hence. Lord Carteret condemns the steps the minority have taken, for reasons that, I am persuaded, are very obvious to your Lordship, as they are to me, though he gives others to no great purpose. He could not dissuade even Mr. Pulteney from taking them; he went into them heartily, and with great spirit, and was sensible there were no other left that could signify. Now, I am sure, I have tired you with matters, as they came into my memory, without any method, and what possibly you knew every word of before, so I shall add no more but my compliments to my Lady Stair[1], and Mrs. Primrose, and that I am ever,

My dear Lord,

Most faithfully, yours,

MARCHMONT.

London, March 28th, 1739.

[1] Lady Stair was the widow of James Viscount Primrose. Lord Stair died childless.

The Honourable James Erskine to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, July 7th, 1739.

In the mean time, though the court interest is as little estee ned and liked as ever, yet the patriot interest is less valued, since nothing, now that the Parliament is up, appears to vindicate the secession, except a little in some of the weekly papers; and every body expected more.

The Earl of Stair to the Earl of Chesterfield.

Edinburgh, July 26th, 1739.

My dear Lord,

I send your Lordship inclosed a memorial, of which I think his Royal Highness should consider very maturely with his best friends, and according to his resolutions we, in this country, shall act, or not act.

I love the Prince very well, for many valuable qualities of which he is possessed, especially for his good heart, which, I think, does not dispose him to be over fond of money, nor of power; but, besides

the Prince's own inclinations, I think it would not be advisable for him to give any jealousy, that he would desire to extend any prerogative of the crown, or that he would keep up any prerogative hurtful and disagreeable to any very considerable part of the nation.

In the mean time I shall freely own to your Lordship, that I am a zealous abettor of the petition[1] in question, though it strikes at a favourite prerogative of the crown, because I think I see daylight, how, by means of that petition, the neck of Sir Robert's power may be broken. I think, by means of such a petition skilfully used there may be such a standard lifted up in this country, as may determine a good many, both Lords and Commons, to come over to the right side at this time of day. I do not expect a great deal from the virtue of my countrymen; but I think there is still room left to work upon their wisdom. My Lord, if I mistake not, in our very dangerous situation, if ever we get out of it, it must be by arts very different, contrary to the arts by which we are brought into it. I believe that immoderate desire of power has done the nation, and the King, more hurt than any one thing. I think it very happy, that the nation is convinced, that the Prince is free from such pernicious appetites.

In this matter Earl Marchmont, Grange, and I have been perfectly of one mind. Our intention was

[1] On the abuses in the election of the Scots Peers.

to have advised only with the Marquis of Tweeddale, and to have kept our deliberations a dead secret, till we had received an answer from above; but finding by the Marquis, that Earl A—— was apprised of this matter, we thought it was necessary to speak to the Earl. His Lordship had many doubts and difficulties, which would be easily put in writing; but I should guess, that his Lordship did not think it would be prudent to advise a measure, that struck at a favourite prerogative of the crown. His Lordship's wisdom did not surprise any of us; but we were a good deal surprised to find that his Lordship's opinion seemed to have a good deal of influence with the Marquis, who refused to concur with us in advising the petition. Since the secret was not kept, we thought it might be necessary to speak to the Duke of Buccleugh, which Lord Marchmont and I did together at Dalkeith; and we found his Grace perfectly well disposed in everything, and entirely approving the measure of petitioning, though his Grace is one of the sixteen sitting Peers. There is one circumstance which possibly it may [not] at [present] be unfit for your Lordship to know; if you should happen to be unanimous above, that difference of opinion here below will signify nothing. Under Lord Cobham's cover, I have written to the Duke of Argyle on all these matters. Without his Grace's hearty concurrence I should be against attempting anything; for unless we can appear with a very

considerable addition of strength, it will not give any new credit or advantage to our side, nor be of any disadvantage to the enemy. If, on the contrary, it should appear by our new lines-of-battle, that we grow stronger, and that the enemy grows weaker, there will be great room left *pour des ruses de guerre.*

In the course of the last war I always observed, that when our side gained any advantage, the enemy very soon after lost half their Swiss regiments, and our regiments were full to a man.

Adieu, my dear Lord. I am persuaded that you believe that I have no other motives for all my public actions, but sincere love to my country, and to the Protestant succession. I am sure, that no man living is, with more perfect esteem, your Lordship's most affectionate, and most faithful humble servant and friend, than, &c.

Inclosure (A) *in the Earl of Stair's Letter to the Earl of Chesterfield dated Edinburgh, July* 26, 1739.

MEMORIAL for Instructions to Members of Parliament from Scotland, 7th July, 1739.

It now comes out, that France and Spain, Sir Robert's best friends, declare themselves enemies to this nation. In favour of France and Spain, during his long and absolute administration, Sir Robert has spent many millions of the nation's money. Witness the tenor of his whole conduct, from the treaty of Hanover[1] to his two late victories in Parliament for the convention in favour of Spain.

In this dangerous and violent situation, what are honest men to do, who wish to save their country?

The first thing, that naturally ought to be done in our distress, is to consider what friends, what allies, we can find abroad. The balance of power, that cost the nation so much blood and treasure to establish under King William and Queen Ann, is entirely broke; and Sir Robert has been long engaged in a different system of politics. The House of Austria is, by our assistance to the Houses of Bourbon, entirely disabled, stripped of its most valuable dominions, its finances entirely ruined; and, as things

[1] The defensive alliance signed at Hanover, on the 3d of September, 1725, between Great Britain, France, and Prussia, a measure adopted to counteract the designs of the Emperor, Spain, and Russia.

now are, it is neither able, nor I am afraid, willing to assist us. The Dutch, who have seen and felt the effects of the good conduct of our minister, it is to be feared, will not be forward to engage themselves in our defence. For what reasons it is not known, but hitherto our court has not been in friendship with the court of Prussia. These are powers with which this nation formerly used to be in friendship and alliance, before Sir Robert's new system of politics took place. At present it is to be feared, that these powers and states, whatever inclinations they may have, will not think it prudent to engage themselves in our defence, whilst they see the sole administration of our affairs left in the hands of a man, of whose ill will to them they have had experience, and of whose ability to serve, and affection to his own native country, possibly they have not a very good opinion.

This being, as there is reason to apprehend it is, the true state of our expectations abroad under Sir Robert's conduct, let us consider a little, what force Sir Robert can bring at home to support the King and the nation in this dangerous situation. Sir Robert has for many years been sole and absolute minister, a thing little known, and never liked in this country. At his accession to the ministry the trade of this nation was flourishing, the King respected and courted by all the princes and states of Europe. All the great affairs of Europe were transacted at London; and all his majesty's subjects, of

what denomination soever, flocked to his court, and assiduously made their court to him. If things had grown better from that time, surely the honour and praise had been justly due to Sir Robert, who during all that time had the sole influence over the conduct of the King and of the nation. Yet, when things are as they are at present, without any calamity happening to the nation of any kind, can one, who observes it, believe, that Sir Robert is agreeable to this nation? One has seen, that they have violently suspected him of having a design to change the constitution of this country, to favour his own ambition, and to protect himself. Be that as it will, we certainly have seen a greater profusion of public money on both Houses of Parliament than ever was seen before, and a greater number of officers civil and military, placemen and pensioners, sitting in this Parliament, than ever sat in any other. These things have been much suspected by a nation jealous of their liberty. But, notwithstanding all our distresses, and that great numbers of members of Parliament have, without doors, joined with the general cry of the people, finding fault with the conduct of our affairs; yet within doors, Sir Robert had, and I suppose has, the majority (such as it was) in both Houses of Parliament. It is to be believed, that his majesty does conceive, that such majorities speak the sense of the nation.

If this be a true picture of our affairs, as I believe it is, wise and honest men will consider with-

out loss of time, whether it is probable that this nation can be saved under the administration of Sir Robert. Those that think so should immediately submit themselves to him; and those that think otherwise, should without loss of time agree upon measures to save the nation, and follow them out steadily. I am afraid, our situation is too violent for us to expect timely our relief from *le chapître des accidents.* If we would be saved, and save our country, we must act, and act like men. If in our violent situation the voice of the House of Commons is not the voice of the people, is there no means to be found to make the people speak out, and declare their own sentiments? Whatever difficulties there may be to put this advice in execution in England, surely the same difficulties will not lie against putting it in execution in Scotland.

In Scotland the representatives of the shires are chosen by the freeholders, who hold certain quantities of land, by the law defined, of the King *in capite.* Our freeholders are obliged every year to meet together in every shire at their Michaelmas head courts, where it may be very easily contrived, that if their representatives in Parliament have acted according to the sense of their constituents, then their constituents will thank them for their behaviour, and desire them to go on; giving them, at the same time, their opinion in writing of certain points, which either have come in question before Parliament, or which probably may come in question.

If the members of Parliament have not acted according to the sense of their constituents, it would be very natural for their constituents to declare their opinions on certain points in writing, and to desire their representatives to conform their votes in Parliament to the said opinions.

There is nothing in this manner of proceeding which is not agreeable to our constitution; and there is nothing in it which may not be transacted without any disorder, in case all those, who have for the good of their country generously opposed the designs of the ministers, do but agree together, and cordially join their interests, and concert proper measures in due time.

If the Duke of Argyle will heartily join interest with the other patriots, and give his orders accordingly, there is very good reason to believe, that, in the nineteen counties which lie on the south side of Tay, seventeen will give such instructions to their members of Parliament, as can be desired. It is of great importance to know the bottom of that matter, let it be what it will.

I need not mention the many advantages that will attend this manner of proceeding. It will in a great measure obviate the delusion which Sir Robert makes use of in a certain place, to wit, that the majority of the House of Commons is the majority of the nation; and it will keep up the spirit of the people, who would be apt to despair, if they saw nothing a-doing by their leaders to preserve the liberty of the nation at this critical time.

Memorial[1] *in the Handwriting of the Earl of Stair.*

By the ill conduct of our foreign affairs the balance of power in Europe is entirely broken, and this nation seems immediately threatened to be attacked by the united forces of France and Spain.

In this situation the author of all these distresses says, that he is the only man the nation loves, or can trust; and his Majesty unluckily seems to believe, by a fallacy, that the voice of the House of Commons is the sense of the people. Any man, that adverts, will easily perceive, that the nation and the House of Commons are very different things; and that it may very often happen, that the sense of the one is very different from the voice of the other, as it happens in this present case. During the very long and absolute administration of our present minister, very many things very disadvantageous have happened to the nation; witness the very perilous state in which the nation stands at present; it is very natural to believe, and very easy to know, that the nation neither loves nor esteems the author of its present calamities.

In the House of Commons the minister has taken

[1] This paper has no date, but it was evidently written soon after the preceding Memorial; it serves as a postscript to it, and as a completion of it; and it was probably, like it, sent to the Earl of Chesterfield.

opportunities to be very bountiful to many gentlemen in that House, for which many of them seem to be so very grateful, that of late in public matters their voice has been very different from the sense of the nation; and in many instances it has appeared of late, that the voices of several Members of Parliament have been entirely different from the sense of their constituents, without entering into the discussions of what their reasons may be of the differences, that we have of late seen between the voice of the House of Commons and sense of the nation.

It is very plain, that the nation and the House of Commons are different things; that they may have different senses; and that they have had different senses of late.

It seems at present to be of the greatest importance to this nation to destroy this fallacy, that the voice of the House of Commons is the sense of the nation. We shall not say, what can be done, or what may be proper to be undertaken in England to destroy this fallacy.

But it will appear by a memorial lately sent up to England, in which the friends to liberty in Scotlands were unanimous, that it was their opinion, that the southern counties in Scotland might be brought to declare at their Michaelmas head courts, that their sense in public matters was very different from the voice of the House of Commons.

Since the sending up of that memorial there has

been a good deal of pains taken to examine the states of the several counties; and by the best judgment that can be made, we are of opinion, that [of] the twenty-one counties, that lay on the south side of Tay, twenty at least will declare their opinions upon the points, that may be laid before them, to be conformable to the sense of the patriots, and that they will give instructions to their representatives in Parliament accordingly.

There is another point, which some friends of liberty here think may be undertaken with success, and may prove of much greater importance to the common cause.

It is proposed, that the Peers of Scotland (who do not approve of the measures, and who dislike the present situation of the affairs of the nation) sign a petition to the House of Lords, setting forth, that by the Treaty of Union the Peers of Scotland have an undoubted right to elect freely out of their own number sixteen to sit in the Parliament of Great Britain, and to represent the Peerage of Scotland; that of late the minister has taken upon himself, in the name of the crown, to name the sixteen Peers for Scotland to sit in the Parliament of Great Britain, and to supply the several vacancies, that happen, by plain and direct nomination; that if by repeated abuses such nominations should happen to prevail, the Peerage of Scotland is in that case, and will find themselves, totally and for ever deprived of the most valuable of their rights and privileges,

their choosing to sit, and sitting in the Parliament of Great Britain; but the dignity and independence of the House of Lords will be greatly encroached upon; and that the very constitution of Parliament will be in danger; that the Peers of Scotland, signing the said petition, do humbly beg that the Lords would take the said matters into their most serious consideration, and do therein, as they in their wisdom should think meet.

This opinion is entirely submitted to the judgment of the friends in England; and we that send the memorial shall entirely regulate ourselves according to the directions we receive from above.

In the mean time we are of opinion, that if such a petition should come down signed by all the considerable Peers of Scotland (friends of liberty) now in England, that in that case the said petition would very soon be signed here by many very considerable Peers of Scotland. It is confidently believed, that the signers of the said petition would not be under the number of forty of the most considerable Peers of Scotland, possibly very much above that number.

Nobody can foresee what the effects of such a petition may be; probably it may prove the strongest machine that has been employed to advance the cause of liberty. If it should happen, that this petition should have no effect upon the conduct of the sixteen Peers, and the forty-five Commoners from Scotland, which I cannot think will be the case, yet at any rate it will shew plainly to all the

world, that the sense of so many considerable Peers of Scotland, signing the said petition, is entirely different from the voice of the most part of the sixteen called by the minister to sit in Parliament.

This is every way the strongest point that could be thought on, either with regard to the Peers of Scotland, or to the House of Lords.

It will be a very hard matter to bring many of the Peers of Scotland to disclaim their own right of electing, and to assert the crown's power of naming; and it cannot be very agreeable to the House of Lords, to establish it by their own voice, that forty-two[1] Lords sit in that House by *congé d'élire*.

The Honourable James Erskine to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, July 29th, 179.

I sent a man a-horseback to your Lordship with letters from me to the Prince, Lord Archibald Hamilton[2], and Mr. Lyttelton[3]. I am sorry, I forgot to write to Lord Archibald or Mr. Lyttelton, that an-

[1] Lord Stair must mean here the sixteen Scots representative Peers, and the English two Archbishops, and twenty-four Bishops.

[2] Cofferer to the Prince of Wales. [3] Secretary to the Prince of Wales.

swers might be returned by your Lordship's servant. But perhaps none of them will be at Clifden[1]. If your Lordship can give him proper directions to let it be known there, so that I may receive the Prince's commands by him, it will much advance his Royal Highness's little affairs here, and perhaps so far, as that much may be done before I return to London; at least I would push it as far as could be.

The Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham[2] to the Earl of Stair.

August 13th, 1739.

My dear Lord,

I received the honour of your commands of July 26 with the inclosed, and have shewn it to my friend my Lord Carteret. I have not as yet had an opportunity of seeing the Duke of Roxburgh, and can therefore only tell your Lordship our opinion upon both points proposed, and upon the general state of affairs, with that zeal, regard, esteem, and friendship, which you will always find in me upon every occasion towards your Lordship, and which will always incline me to do everything in my power, that may contribute to your service, and may

[1] Then a residence of the Prince of Wales.

[2] First Lord of the Admiralty in 1742. He went out of office in 1744 with Lord Carteret, then Earl of Granville.

be agreeable to your wishes, both in public and private; and I do not at all doubt meeting with the same from your Lordship, though we should [not] be able perhaps in everything to agree in the means to be used towards obtaining that real good to the public, which I know you have so much at heart, and which every honest man would endeavour to promote.

As to the first point, which relates to the instructions[1] to be given by the shires to their representatives at your Michaelmas session, and likewise the burghs in the south part of Scotland, I must freely confess, that I do not apprehend, that this measure carries all that weight, nor will it produce those consequences, which your Lordship, and my Lord Marchmont, and our friends in Scotland, seem to expect from it; that the bulk of the people, both in England and Scotland, are against the measures, *and the present sole minister*, is beyond all dispute; nor does Sir Robert Walpole himself doubt of the truth of this proposition. But then, my Lord, he has in his hands the purse and sword, which is, to be sure, a balance against the detestation of the present measures, and the just indignation against his person, which prevails amongst all the people of Britain not in pay.

Now, my Lord, I cannot really, as an honest man, and one that wishes well to your Lordship, and the rest of our friends in Scotland, advise, nor even ap-

[1] Of which the real object was to enable the seceding members to return to the House of Commons.

prove of such a measure's being taken in Scotland, when no one of our friends, *not even those of the secession*, have thought proper to move any such thing in any one part of the kingdom of England. Your country is apt enough to be put in a flame; but then, my Lord, it is at such a distance, that it will not operate, in the manner you expect, upon the minister's weaker passions, his fears and apprehensions; and therefore in truth, my dear Lord, if any Englishman concurs in opinion, or would advise your Lordship and your friends to take this step, I would say to that Englishman, let him be who he will, 'Why do not you take the same step in the 'county where you live, and have interest, since 'you advise it to your friends in Scotland?'

The saving this nation from the bill[1] of commerce was owing to the approaching end of that Parliament in the late Queen's time. Those counties and boroughs who would now give public instructions, will have it in their power to give the most effectual instruction by changing their members; and these sentiments of the persons electing cannot be unknown to those who are now their representatives, and must have weight with even their present members, if they hope for their future favour, which is the chief end proposed by the present instructions.

[1] A Bill brought in to render effectual the eighth and ninth articles of the Commercial Treaty concluded with France in 1713, which was carried successfully through the House of Commons, until on question whether it should be engrossed, it was thrown out by a majority of nine.

As to the second point relating to the Peers, it is no more than the same question we had in the beginning of this Parliament upon your Lordship's, and the rest of the Lords' petition, and of which your Lordship knows not only my Lord Carteret's and my opinion, but that several Lords of your own country did not think the proposition was tenable, and we were forced to drop it. Your Lordship must well remember, that upon the last choice of the sixteen Peers we hoped and flattered ourselves, that our friends amongst the Peers would make up at least the number of forty. Now you say there is reason to reckon forty; and may be many more will sign this intended petition. If there are forty Peers of Scotland that will sign a petition of this sort as intended, which must be looked upon as an irregular step, and without evidence to support it, will they refuse in a regular way to support the freedom and independence of the Scotch Peerage, (and consequently the dignity of the House of Lords) when it comes to an election? And if that is the case, that there are so many willing to sign such a paper, I must conclude it impossible that Lord Islay or Sir Robert can carry the next election of the Peers in Scotland, because I am sure, from the knowledge I have of the sentiments of some Lords in your country, there are many, who would join with your Lordship and friends with hand and heart in order to carry the election of the sixteen, who never will upon any consideration sign any

such paper or petition, as seems to be intended. I would not write to your Lordship merely upon our own opinion, but would descend to particular persons; for instance, I do verily believe the Duke of Argyle is as much and as irreconcileably broke with Sir Robert and even Lord Islay, as it is possible for man to be; nor do I think it in their power or nature to do anything to make up the breach. I am very much persuaded, that, even in the election, you might depend upon his assistance, (else it would be the weakest part in the world that he acts); but yet though his Grace is not now in town, nor have I any way to feel his pulse, or know his opinion upon this question, I am thoroughly persuaded, that he would never sign any such paper. We likewise think, though neither I nor my friend Lord Carteret have ever had a letter from either of them since they were last in Scotland, that neither the Marquis of Tweeddale, nor the Earl of Aberdeen would sign any such petition; and therefore upon these reasons my Lord Carteret nor I cannot think that this would be a present[1] step, or in any way answer the ends you propose by it, and is a measure that, if pursued, neither Lord Carteret nor I can undertake to support when brought to the House of Lords. If Sir Robert carries on the approaching war with vigour, and like a man, who can hurt him? and if there is (as I suspect there will be) some tergiversation, who can save him? But raising a flame in

[1] *Sic in orig.*; probably 'prudent.'

Scotland will rather save him than hurt him. I am, my dear Lord, with the greatest passion, truth, and respect, agreeable to the obligations I have to you who first brought me into the world and good company, and by the freedom with which I explain my real and natural sentiments to you upon these matters, I hope you will believe that I am,

My dear Lord, &c.,

WINCHILSEA and NOTTINGHAM.

Lord Carteret to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

Arlington-street, Aug. 15th, 1739.

My dear Lord,

I had the honour of your letter by your servant, and by him I send this to your Lordship. I have seen Lord Winchelsea; and upon reading together the memorial, and the letter from Lord Stair, we are both of opinion, that those measures can never be reduced to practice so as to answer the end proposed, and must necessarily tend, if pursued, to bring our friends into difficulties, out of which we cannot help them. Can anybody believe, that an application to the House of Lords from forty Peers of North Britain, in the manner proposed, can have any other effect than to hurt those Peers so sub-

scribing? But, I am fully persuaded, no such number of Peers can be got to sign such a paper, nor can anybody see any new foundation for such a proceeding. If the Peers will exert their freedom of election, they will have an opportunity of doing it legally and effectually at the next election; and the talking of it at any other time can serve only as an amusement to speculative men. The other measure as to the House of Commons is not liable to the manifest objections, that occur in the case of the Peerage, but, I apprehend, will be attended with such difficulties, that it will be reduced to a very narrow compass, and consequently had better be let alone; for to suppose that some great people here, who of late have openly declared against the minister without any reserve, will write to their friends in Scotland in behalf of such a measure, is a supposition I cannot make; and I am convinced, that the contrary will be found to be true upon trial as to that particular; and if part of Scotland could be brought to give instructions to its representatives, England will never follow that example. Your Lordship having asked me my opinion, I give it you freely, and without reserve, such as it is.

The ministers are at present, in all appearance, pursuing the sense of the nation, and acting towards the Spaniards as they should have acted long ago. The nation desires no war, but yet will not be contented with such a peace, as of late we have had; and if, in vindication of our honour, and in

pursuing the necessary measures to obtain a good peace, war should break out, which is most likely, we must repel force by force from whatsoever quarter it comes, as well as we can; and the shewing internal discontents, howsoever founded at this time, may precipitate our ruin, but can never have any tendency to save us. These are my notions, which I do not give you as a volunteer; that would be presumption; but I lay them before you, and those friends you may converse with, because you honour me by asking my opinion. We are all sorry, that we cannot make things better; for God's sake do not let us make them worse; and if the nation is to be undone, which by the way I do not believe it will, let us act so as never to have reason to reproach ourselves of having done amiss, though out of zeal and good intentions, in this critical conjuncture. I desire your Lordship will make my compliments to Lord Stair, and other friends, and believe me to be with great truth and respect,

My Lord, your Lordship's
Most humble, and most obedient servant,
CARTERET[1].

[1] The tone of Lord Carteret's advice can be accounted for. It appears from Lord Orford's 'Common-place Book,' that Lord Carteret whilst in opposition was intriguing with the Duke of Newcastle to get into office, but that Sir Robert Walpole prevented it, thwarting his views on the Privy Seal in 1740. It is stated, that his associates, suspecting him, compelled him in 1742 to move the address to remove Sir Robert Walpole. But this observation applies only to the hidden motives for his advice, and not to the arguments with which he supports it; Lord Chesterfield views the proposed petition of Scots Peers to the House of Lords much in the same light as that in which he sees it.

The Earl of Chesterfield to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

London, Aug. 15th, 1739.

My dear Lord,

I received your Lordship's and Lord Stair's letters the night before I left Tunbridge, from whence I returned here yesterday. As you desire my opinion upon the plan, of which you sent me a copy, I will give it you, as well as I have been able to form it in this short time, and without having anybody to talk it over and consider it with; submitting it, however, entirely to the opinions of the rest of our friends, and determined to act as they shall think fit to resolve. I extremely approve of the first part of it that relates to the House of Commons, both as a thing right in itself, and as a good example, which, I hope, may be followed by many counties at least in England; but, I confess, I have many doubts about the latter part, which relates to the House of Lords, and which is not necessarily connected with the other, so that the former may very well be put in practice, though this be not. The petition of the Lords would be no more than what was done at the beginning of this Parliament, and with many more favourable circumstances. The grievance was then recent, and talked of by everybody, the corrupt influence offered to be

proved by witnesses of rank and credit; and yet you saw it did not shake one single man in our House. The elections of one or two since, though in truth nominations of the court, cannot regularly appear to be so, since there was no opposition, and the election seemed at least to be unanimous. It is not to be doubted neither, but that there would be at the same time a counter-petition, or representation, (call it what you will) signed by a greater number of Lords, than would sign yours, which would justify the House of Lords in whatever censure they might have a mind to pass upon yours. Besides, would it not be natural enough to ask this question; 'Why now this is neither im-'mediately after a past grievance, nor immediately 'before a new one of the same kind is appre-'hended?' And I really think, such an application would come much more properly towards the end of the last Session of this Parliament. Another circumstance, which, I think, has some weight, is, that the Duke of Argyle is not yet ripe for a measure of this kind, and I dare say will not come into it, though very probably some time hence he may. Lords Aberdeen and Tweeddale, it seems, already declare against it; and you very well know, who among us will do the same here, which would certainly damp it a good deal, though I own, that alone would not be a reason for laying it aside, if it were otherwise proper at this time.

This, my dear Lord, is my present opinion, of

which however I am fully diffident, and consequently not tenacious. I shall act in it as the majority of you all determine; for as we all mean the same thing, I will always concur with those measures, which shall be agreed upon by those, who mean as well, and can judge much better than myself. I beg you will make my compliments to my Lord Stair, to whom I do not write, knowing that my writing to you is the same thing, and thinking that he may possibly be further off.

I am, with the greatest truth and attachment,

My dear Lord, &c.

John Duke of Argyle to the Earl of Stair.

Adderbury, Aug. 16th, 1739.

My Lord,

I have been favoured with your Lordship's letter, and a memorial inclosed, which was delivered to me by Lord Cobham; but as to the memorial referred to, and mentioned to have been sent some time ago, I never heard of it.

I confess, my Lord, at first sight, the project of the gentlemen freeholders giving instructions at the Michaelmas head courts to their representatives, and the Peers of Scotland signing a petition to the House of Lords, did not appear to me in the same

light it seems to do to your Lordship; and my way of thinking upon that subject is not changed by second thoughts: several strong objections to it occur to me, which it is needless to trouble you with; I shall only mention one. The end you propose by it is to convince those, who now mistake the opinion of the Houses of Parliament as to the convention, and other public measures, to be that of the people, how much they are in the wrong. Believe me, my Lord, there is no man in this island who makes the least doubt, that ninety-nine in a hundred of the people of Britain think otherwise of the conduct of the minister, than the majority in Parliament seem to do; nor did the minister ever pretend to say to anybody, that he, or his measures were agreeable to the nation; if this be so, which everybody here knows to be the case, why be at pains to prove what nobody denies?

My Lord, it is a great comfort to me, that my conduct last winter has convinced all impartial men, that I mean nothing but the welfare of my King and country; and if doing strictly what I take to be my duty can continue to me the good opinion of honest men, I shall think myself most happy.

Your enemies, my Lord, know that I have been, and am your friend. I esteem you, and love you, and therefore take it for granted, you will do me the justice to believe, that, when I differ from you, it is only because my judgment directs me so to do, who am your Lordship's, &c.

ARGYLE AND GREENWICH.

The Duke of Queensberry to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

Petersham, Aug. 16th, 1739.

My Lord,

I was in hopes of having an opportunity of conferring with some of our friends here before your servant returned; but he just now informs me, that he has got his dispatches from my Lord Chesterfield, and waits only for my letter, which indeed I deferred to the last, being in constant expectation of seeing my Lord Chesterfield, and getting a meeting appointed with those few of our friends, who are within a reasonable distance. I heartily wish, that all who profess themselves friends to liberty on this side of the Tweed were as active as your Lordship, and some others who will have the honour of saving this country (if any thing can). It really provokes my patience to see people loudly and ably declaiming for the support of the constitution during the Session of Parliament, and, the moment that is over, running into the country, and in appearance laying aside their patriotism with their winter clothes, to be put on again at the return of the season. I expect to see my Lord Chesterfield this evening, or to-morrow morning, he having sent me notice that he is to be at Twickenham to-day. I do not doubt of his zeal for the public, and consequently I take

it for granted, he will shew no backwardness in coming into spirited measures. I do not know in what manner it is proposed the counties should declare their sense of public matters, for I have never seen the memorial referred to; but I am so strongly of the opinion that something of that kind should be done, that I have often told our friends that without it the late secession must lose its effect; and I would fain have had petitions procured from all corners of the island, requesting the crown to dissolve a Parliament so notoriously influenced by corruption (or at least liable to influence from the very nature of its constitution). . . . . .

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My Lord, your Lordship's
Most obedient humble servant,
QUEENSBERRY[1].

The Viscount Polwarth to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

My Lord,

I wrote to you by the post this morning, and little imagined I should so soon be called upon to answer your letter, which you sent by Taylor. But

[1] The Duke of Queensberry was at this time a Lord of the Bed-chamber to the Prince of Wales.

he returned from town this evening, Lord Chesterfield having told him, that it was in vain to wait for the Duke of Montrose's answer.

I do not go to Mr. Sandys'[1] till Monday, and your letter was not sent into Somersetshire, so that I have had no opportunity to consult with either of the persons I otherwise would have advised with. My brother does not come hither till next week; so that he has not seen the papers neither.

I hope, the opinions of your friends here will be to your satisfaction; but I doubt it much, from the situation the affairs of the opposition are in at present. Your Lordship must remember, that, when our friends dispersed, it was agreed, that some steps should be taken to justify the secession, and enable them to return with dignity, in case they should judge that step necessary; and that, in order to obtain these ends, instructions from the people were determined upon as the only proper measures. It was likewise agreed, that, in order to avoid the appearance of these instructions proceeding merely from the opposition, they should first be given by the city and the county of Middlesex, as proper places to give an example, which others might naturally follow. Mr. Pulteney accordingly undertook this part, and, in order to prepare for it, promised a pamphlet, pointing out the ways which, in our circumstances, it was natural for the people to

[1] Chancellor of the Exchequer in February, 1742. He resigned, and was made a Peer in 1743. He afterwards held other offices.

take. This however was delayed week after week; and when I went into the country, he bid me say, that he could not take on himself to venture to give advice to the people what was proper, and that perhaps it were better to say nothing, lest future events should necessitate the retracting of what had been advanced in the pamphlet. As to the instructions themselves, he thought it were better quietly to return next year; and, if the ministers went into a war, to watch place-bills, &c., for in this way we should be ready to improve the misunderstanding among the courtiers. However, as he said to Sandys when he came to town, that the instructions would be time enough against the Michaelmas sessions, I cannot be positive, but he may still intend to attempt them then. I delivered his opinion to my friend in the west[1], who was much and justly dissatisfied with it. Indeed there is no depending on anybody so changeable. In order therefore to prevent the future evil effects of this inconstancy, proper methods are taking to make all the rest unite on the same principle, and act in concert. But at present everything is unsettled; the only resolution taken is to be early in town in the winter, and to join on some bottom, which may pursue a steady course. The great question here is, whether to return or not; and, if it be determined

[1] Sir William Wyndham. Lord Polwarth had but just left his seat, Orchard Wyndham, when he wrote this letter. See Sir W. Wyndham's letter to Lord Polwarth of August 13th, 1739.

to return, how to do it with dignity. And the method once concerted being neglected; it will be the subject of the first consultation next winter to remedy the mistake committed this summer.

In this situation, I believe, it might be thought improper, (at least I am inclined to think so) that Scotland should send instructions, when England says nothing on so extraordinary and important an occasion. And as to the House of Lords, besides many other reasons which your Lordship's knowledge and *experience* will suggest, I do not see any hint in the paper, that the allegation in the proposed petition can be supported with proof; and in this case you will consider, how far it is to be stirred in, especially considering how little fond some people will be to touch upon the matter at all. In fine, my Lord, the instructions here are looked upon only as necessary to excuse and cover the return of the opposition to the House, in case that should be made a measure; and surely something is necessary to prepare mankind for such a change of a measure so solemnly taken. But the necessity of this return consisted only in this, that if Mr. P——[1] insisted upon it, and Mr. Sandys and Mr. Waller[2] were determined to follow him, we should again be split

[1] Mr. Pulteney.

[2] A Whig leader of opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, on whose fall, when Mr. Sandys was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, he continued to oppose until the formation of the Broad-bottom Administration in 1744, when he became Cofferer of his Majesty's Household.

into Whig and Tory, unless all went back, however improper they might think it. For Sir W. W.[1] being the only man of dignity, who could oppose such a resolution, others of no name in the world could not prevent those, who should adhere to him, being called by the name of the party he once led. It is now thought not only proper, but necessary, to defeat both this and all other projects, which might sprout from the same root, by forming an intimacy between all those who mean honestly; and this, I think, is in so much forwardness, that I hope my journey of Monday[2] will complete it. Your Lordship coming up early, backed with the opinion and resolutions of friends in Scotland, will much advance and encourage it. I need not say, that this letter is too free to be shewn, nor that it is wrote in absolute darkness of what your other friends say. But as I know this state of our affairs to be exact, you will make the proper use of it. I cannot recollect anything more of a public nature, that I can say at present; as to private interests of my brother and me, I suppose your Lordship means election matters; and these we may write to your Lordship, with a little circumspection, by the post. I propose shewing Mr. Sandys the papers you sent me, that, if another occasion offers, you may see his

[1] Sir William Wyndham.

[2] He went on to Mr. Sandys's. See his letter to his father of the 27th of this month.

opinion of them. I am, with the greatest respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,
Dutiful, and affectionate Son,
POLWARTH.

Oxford, 17th August, 1739,
Nine o'Clock at Night.

Lord Cobham to the Earl of Stair.

Stowe, Aug. 18th, 1739.

My dear Lord,

When I waited on the Duke of Argyle with your Lordship's letter, I found him in general not averse to a communication with the Lords of the minority in Scotland, of measures that tended to the censure of those wicked ones pursued, particularly the present ones, by the minister; but he declined taking any part now upon the plan you sent him, because he thought the time too short for him to know his friends' opinion upon it; that the terms of the declaration to be subscribed by the gentlemen of the country were not explicitly known; possibly every different gentleman might be of a contrary opinion in the wording of it, supposing they were agreed in the matter; that he had heard nothing from any of his friends concerning anything in Scotland, and therefore could not write upon a matter so new to him, and possibly to them; that next winter would

give us the means of talking together; and that he would be in Scotland next summer. These were his reasons, when we talked together, and better ones, in my poor opinion, than he gives your Lordship in his letter; for though, as he says, everybody knows the badness of the convention, and censures it from one end of the island to the other, yet, with submission to him, I think, the more mankind think they have been abused, the more necessary it is for them to declare their sentiments and their resentments.

Inclosed is Lord Chesterfield's letter to Lord Marchmont; to which I have nothing to add, since I am sure, that I do not want proof to you, that I am ready to co-operate in everything your better judgment shall suggest; and I heartily wish, you may find it practicable in your country to pursue the remonstrance to the members, that their behaviour has not been agreeable to their constituents. Such a step is most essential to a future election, upon which absolutely depends the liberty of this country; possibly, though we here are not worthy of leading the way, we may, inspired by some good demon (for I am afraid that nothing but supernatural intervention can help us) be induced to follow. The truth is, that the folly and wickedness of our minister have turned so much to his advantage, that most, who are not bribed to hold their tongue, are ashamed to talk of them for fear of repeating, as the Duke of Argyle says, what everybody knows.

Your Lordship will please to make my compliments to Lord Marchmont. I hope his health, which I know to be precarious, is pretty good. I will not be so unmannerly as to mention your's with such an invalid as Lord Marchmont: may you long enjoy that vigour of mind and body you are at present blessed with, to the advantage of your country, which, God knows, has need of many Lord Stairs to save it from destruction. Chesterfield is come perfectly well from Tunbridge.

I am, with most perfect esteem,

My Lord, &c.

COBHAM.

The Earl of Stair to Mr. Pulteney.

Culhorne, Aug. 18th, 1739.

Sir,

Yesterday I received your letter of the 3d, from Raby Castle. For a good while past I have seen destruction coming upon this nation with very wide strides. The misfortune happened to the Emperor's army[1] only puts our danger, and the danger of all Europe, into a stronger light. Our situation is too violent to admit of any delay. If we cannot speedily find some way to unite the nation, in order to make a struggle to save ourselves, we must be

[1] Worsted by the Turks at Crotska.

undone, and undone without being able to strike one stroke.

It is very plain, that the nation wants to save itself; it is very plain, that Sir Robert's gang want only to save their paymaster, without troubling themselves about consequences. If something cannot be done in this interval of Parliament, to shew that the sense of the nation is very different from the voice of Sir Robert's gang, I take it for granted, that the spirit of those, who are now very ready to follow their leaders to save their country, will be quite sunk before next Session of Parliament, when they see that their leaders propose nothing to save their country, and, what is worse, that they will not agree to what is proposed by others for that end.

What I have to say upon this chapter is too long for a letter, and would require discussions much fitter for conversation.

Since you have gone so far into the North, I would have you go a little farther; see the Earl of Marchmont, and let him appoint Grange to meet you; they will inform you of what we have proposed to do in Scotland, of the reasons of our proposals, and of the grounds we had to expect success. As to the first point, I am sure, we have a moral certainty to make every southern shire in Scotland declare their sense in public matters is conformable to the sense of the patriots, and contrary to the sense of the minister. If the Duke of Argyle should not join with us, it will make that difference, that the

things, that will carry in all the other southern shires, will not be attempted in the counties in which he has the greatest influence. What the reasons are, why we have no answers to this point from above, is what I do not know; but you will observe, that this thing in question must be done at the Michaelmas head courts, or it cannot be done at all in this year. If, after such a thing has been in agitation, it should drop, you may easily imagine what effect it will leave, and whether it will after that be possible to persuade gentlemen to go up to Parliament early to wait the *chapitre des accidents*, and a better union among those who have never agreed.

For my part, I see this point in a light, which makes me think it is of the greatest importance both for the thing itself, and for its example; it is entering into the detail of the sentiments of the nation, which is the point we want to come at; but I shall say no more upon this subject. I think, you should talk with Earl Marchmont and Grange.

For my own part, I have no other motive for what I do but the good of my country and of mankind; when I can do them no service, I shall see the misfortunes that happen them with great affliction, and bow my head without pretending to struggle, when I can do no good.

I am, with the greatest esteem,

And most sincere value, your faithful,

And most obedient humble servant.

P.S.—I shall wait in this place all next week, to see if the post brings anything that may make my attendance, either on this side, or in any other part of Scotland, useful. If nothing comes, I shall go over to visit some friends I have in Ireland, who are desirous to see me; and after that I shall return to take care of my farms, and heartily wish success to you, and other honest men, who wish well to their country, which cannot be saved but by words and actions all of a piece. *Concordiâ res parvæ crescunt; discordiâ maximæ dilabuntur.*

The Honourable James Erskine to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

My Lord,

I had the honour to receive your Lordship's letter of the 20th, in return with the express. By that post from London Lord Erskine (who, I believe, is now on the road to this) wrote to me, that an express to court had just brought account, that the Assoguez fleet had got into St. Ildero in Spain. Ten to one but next Session of Parliament Sir Robert (who suffered, or helped to contrive this to happen) will make it an argument for Spain, that now they have so great treasure to begin a vigorous war with. For what are the British ships of war on

the Spanish coasts and sea? Is Spithead gone so far south? My Lord also writes, he hears, that none at court venture there to speak but in little whispers about the present state of affairs. Such quiet mournful silence about his case is the behaviour of people near a great person lying dangerously sick. My Lady Stair is to acquaint me what she hears of my Lord's voyage, and then I will acquaint your Lordship of it. I go a little from town to-morrow, but return Saturday or Sunday. By last post I had a letter from Lord Archibald Hamilton, dated the 14th of this month, from Park Place (which must now be the name of the place he lives at near Clifden), and he tells me he had on the 10th got my letters, that went by your Lordship's servant; but he says nothing else about him, nor of any other letters your servant had brought; and yet his Lordship had been at Clifden on the 13th. All he tells me is, that the Prince approved of what I had done in his business, but could not send down the papers till the middle of next month, that Mr. Lyttelton returns from Worcestershire to countersign them.

This, with all submission, shows that those now immediately about the Prince either do not know, or do not advert to the form of business. I wrote back to Lord Archibald, and begged him humbly to represent to the Prince, that these papers, being for the Scots province, should not be countersigned by his English, but Scots secretary; and that when I

acted under the Secretary of State, both before and since the Union, when the Scots Secretary was here, and sent papers to London, the Sovereign supersigned them, and they were sent back to be countersigned, and given out by the Scots Secretary here; and that when there was a secretary for Scotland, it was never known that an English secretary countersigned Scots papers, for which not the English but the Scots was the proper and legal officer; and that the Scots signet must be affixed to it by me, who had it for that purpose in my custody; and it is here, and not at London. I entreated him to lay these reasons, with all submission, before his Royal Highness, that, if he thought them good, the papers might be presently sent down, the delay of which would do hurt, and put off his business, which I had hoped to get well advanced before next meeting of Parliament. The rest of Lord Archibald's letter is wholly about his own private affairs; and he does not so much as insinuate one word of news, or any public concern. I have been at home all day, and know not whether the post be come.

My Lord, I always am, with the old sincere respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient, most
Faithful, humble servant,

JAS. ERSKINE.

Edinburgh, Aug. 22nd, 1739.

The Honourable James Erskine to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, Tuesday,
Past Five at Night, Aug. 22nd, 1739.

I see not any appearance, that till those who are less or more for good measures meet next winter and concert them, there will be hearty concurrence in any such, but rather a drawing back, or drawing cross by such who perhaps will then unite to act with some (may we possibly expect it will be with much?) spirit. And indeed, if they put off their concert and acting any longer, I fear, they may give up the game. What his Royal Highness's thoughts are of all this cannot be learned from any of the letters; but what they will come out to be seems easily conjecturable from what is wrote by Lords Cobham, Chesterfield, and Carteret, &c., except he should happen to think otherwise of himself, and should be more than ordinarily earnest for his own sentiments.

The Marquis of Tweeddale[1] *to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.*

Yester, Aug. 23rd, 1739.

My Lord,

I have this moment received a packet from Mr. Erskine of Grange, in which I am favoured with one from your Lordship. I have read those from the Duke of Queensberry and Lord Carteret directed to you. Your Lordship was early acquainted with my opinion in relation to the measure proposed to be gone into by the freeholders at Michaelmas head courts: I never thought it would have the effect proposed, and must do more harm than good, unless the Duke of Argyle had been prevailed upon to write to his friends to concur heartily in the same measure. As to the other matter in relation to the Peers, I have nothing to add to the opinion I first gave, when it was first hinted to me; and the more I reflect upon it, the more I am confirmed in the same opinion. I am, with great truth and esteem, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful, and
Obedient servant,
TWEEDDALE.

[1] He was one of the sixteen Scots Peers in six Parliaments, Secretary of State for Scotland from 1742 to 1746, and Lord Justice-General in 1761. He was married to a daughter of Lord Carteret.

The Viscount Polwarth to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

My Lord,

I found yours of the 9th here when I returned from Mr. Sandys's; and I suppose you will soon receive, if you have not done it already, my letter from this place, or, more properly, both the letters, for they were of the same date. I am sorry to hear your Lordship has been confined to your room; I hope it will not prevent your finishing your business soon; I hear it every day more and more confidently reported, that the Parliament will meet in November; and I wish you were near this by that time.

I see by the news, that the long-expected pamphlet is advertised as published at London on Saturday last; but I have not yet seen it, nor do I know whether any will be sent me. If my brother has heard no more of it than I have done, nor sent any to your Lordship, we shall order some to be sent, as soon as he arrives here.

I hear Mr. Pulteney is on his return from Mr. Vane's to York and Norfolk in great spirits, and high indignation. I shall see Lord Cobham soon.

Oxford, Aug. 27th, 1739.

The Honourable James Erskine to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, Thursday, Sept. 6th, 1739.

Lord Erskine came to this from London the day before yesterday. He was a night on the road in the same inn with Mr. Pulteney; but they did not know of one another till next morning, as they were going away. He said to my Lord, and bid him tell me, that he believed there was no doubt but the Parliament would meet about the 20th of November, and to entreat me to be at London at least two weeks before that time, that there might be a general concert what to do, and particularly as to returning to the House or not, and in what way to return, and on what foot to put the secession, and whether to insist on a Place Bill, or such other thing; and what as to peace or war, and the management thereof; and, on refusal, whether to leave the House again. I think he should have added,—and what to do when we have left it? For the strongest prejudice in favour of one's self cannot possibly blind common sense so long as not at length to see plainly, that our leaving the House, and doing nothing on it but running up and down a-sporting, like a parcel of the silliest schoolboys when playing the truant, is ridiculous, and indeed

criminal; and to tell my thoughts freely, the nation does, and posterity will, despise, and think their curses due to those called patriots, for their disconcerted, vile, ridiculous conduct, and for the villainous behaviour of some, which all who are not blind must see through. If this winter better measures are not solidly laid down with a better spirit, I doubt I shall not believe it to be my duty to trouble the Parliament again, while I live. I find, I can do nothing to serve my country, which God, who knows every man's heart, knows it was and is my sincere intention to do, and in respect of which I do not value the fate of me or mine; and now, without the smallest prospect of serving my country, (I mean not Scotland or England in particular, but Great Britain altogether) I am sure I find that I ruin and undo myself. I have several years been, and still am, one of the marks that the courtiers hurl their vengeance at, and follow me down to private life with it; and the world is so convinced of this, that I find every day, most men are afraid to come near me; and though I neither expect nor desire power or wealth, (God knows it) yet I must not starve; and I hope God will rather provide for me by death, than suffer me to go into any bad measure, or do anything but what an honest disinterested man ought to do. Yet, I suppose, when an honest man sees, after he has ventured to serve his country in this way, that it is absolutely impossible for him to have bare subsistence in it; and, at

the same time, by the prevailing knavery of one side, and the prevailing God-knows-what on the other side, that it is impossible for him to do any service to his country; then he has reason to think, he is not one of the persons by whom Providence is *in this way* to do good to the country; and therefore he ought to let it alone, and make room for others, and retire to some other business. Even that will not be easy for me, because the way I have been in, and the unwearied wrath it has drawn upon me, have spoiled it in the way most natural to me. But the proverb is true, 'There still is life for a living man;' and what that life be, I do not much care, and not a straw, whether it be middling or low life. My concern at present is this, What is my duty? And after the best consideration I can have, I do not see that it is my duty, when this Parliament ends, to meddle any more in public matters, except those, who only profess to have the public good at heart, act on better principles and with better spirit, than I yet can see they have done or are doing; and I see no ground to expect it will grow better. In the mean time, if any of them will be so good as to allow me their countenance to get into some small way of business, (not here, for that is now absolutely impracticable) I will be obliged to them; if not, I must do the best I can without it: and I am sure, I will never trouble them again, not so much as by one word. But pardon me for this digression.

Mr. Pulteney said, he would have wrote to me to the above purpose, if he had had time, that I might also have urged our other friends to be up as early. Now all the want of time was, that his horses were ready for his mounting. But he said, he would write to me from London; and from London he has not a safe way of writing to me. Yet surely he must know, that all in this country must be now advertised, or they neither can nor will be up at that time.

Edinburgh, Thursday,
Sept. 6th, 1739.

The Honourable James Erskine to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

Edinburgh, Sept. 8th, 1739.

My Lord,

What I wrote to your Lordship the other day by your carrier occasions me to trouble you again, notwithstanding of what Mr. Pulteney on the road bid Lord Erskine tell me, viz. to be at London two weeks before the 20th November, when the Parliament is to meet, because there must be a general concert among those of the country side; yet, I confess, I am afraid there will be none, or that it will be too superficial, or too confined, and not on all the things which at present seem needful for the

preservation and recovery of Britain; and if it should be on all, yet I dread, there will not be spirit enough to carry on the concert. It is either my past experience, or misapprehension, that gives me these fears, to write the grounds of which would make too long a letter; but, I think, I could appeal to the experience and impartial reflection of any sensible man, who has observed matters for some years past, that my fears are not groundless. Your Lordship knows, how important it is on such an occasion to have but two or three men of sense and weight, who will be earnest, and stir up others. You have seen much good brought about by such, and I am sure, I have seen much mischief happen by the want of such. These are like yeast, without which there is not fermentation enough to produce good drink. May I presume to say, that there has been [a] want of this for some years past, and if so, since, so far as I know, there are to be none at London this winter, who were not there these last winters, may I not fear, that we shall again labour under the same want? It is not, that I believe those who are to be there, are not men of as much honour and spirit as any; but when an indolence and inactivity has crept in, the assistance of others, who for some time have been absent, is a new spur; this has often been seen; and all who really desire to carry on matters as effectually, as the present situation of affairs does require, will be glad of further assistance in it.

If I knew of twenty such men, I would wish them all there; and there may be such a number, though by the narrowness of my acquaintance I cannot name them; but one such I can name, and I dare say he is already in your Lordship's thoughts; and that is Earl Stair; he has long been in business, and in the uppermost stations, and is acquainted with the most considerable of all sides and denominations, and has weight among them; and he is active and unwearied in carrying on matters he has at heart, and persuading, and stirring up others to apply to them, and to exert themselves. Now it is such a person that our present lethargic state in the midst of great danger seems to call for.

I know, your Lordship would gladly have him there; but the difficulty is how to bring it about. His straits for ready money are known to all; and not being in any post that requires his being at London, his going at this season will make the courtiers fancy there is some strange thing designed, or laugh at him as an idle stickler; and some of another stamp may perhaps fancy that it shews too much conceit of himself, and distrust of them, or be jealous, that he goes to interfere with them one way or other. As to the courtiers, considering how the patriots already stand with them, I humbly conceive it matters not much what they would think or say, and their laughter might be as pert and saucy, but would also be as dull as Sir Robert Walpole's jokes are; and as to others, I cannot but think, there are

some of the most considerable, who wish him there, and would be far from having any grudge or evil suspicion on it, knowing full well, that in such a juncture men of the best abilities want fresh assistance, and that it is not by any means a disparagement or lessening of them to make use of all they can get. If there be some men of note so reasonable and just as to think thus (which, I think, I know there are), then if these will write to Earl Stair, and desire him to go to London, that they may advise with him about affairs, it will remove all that might have been said of his journey by others; and if any such could be ordered to write from the Prince of Wales, that his Royal Highness desires to see him, then all objection would be at an end. I have heard his Royal Highness several times express an earnest desire, that Earl Stair was at London, and indeed for the same reason I have mentioned above; and I never perceived him vary from this, except that once I thought his Royal Highness seemed to hesitate a little on it, because of Earl Stair's want of money; but this objection is not so strong as is imagined: my Lord's estate far exceeds his debts; and his rent is much above the interest of that debt; therefore he can get credit for more money than this journey needs to cost him; and you know, he will have no reluctancy at laying it out in his country's cause.

I humbly suppose, that if any do this it will be Earl Chesterfield, Viscount Cobham, &c., on your

Lordship's suggestion; and if they do, I submit it to your Lordship's consideration, whether Marquis Tweeddale should not also be desired to go up. This would prevent jealousies and counteractings, both which it seems very necessary to guard against. There are particular reasons for this from former and latter occurrences, that are so well known to your Lordship, I need not mention them to you. A word from the Prince to both would make all right; and this word can be obtained by Earl Chesterfield, &c., if your Lordship shall think fit to write to him of it; but if it be done at all, no time should be lost.

I humbly take this to be an extraordinary time, and to call for the joint assistance of all worthy men. The people expect nothing from the courtiers but mischief, as they have done for a very long time; but ever since the second Session of this Parliament their expectations of good from the patriots have been declining, and seem now to be expiring. The secession without concert, and doing nothing at all in consequence, nor in suitableness to that measure, has made enemies laugh at us, and has destroyed a vast deal of the esteem and confidence, which the people had in the patriots; hence the people will be the less willing to support or approve any of their measures, which will be the less likely to succeed; and their contracting so bad an opinion of the patriots does hurt to the Prince of Wales, because he is reckoned to be at their head. I might follow out this as to several most pernicious effects

it must have, both with respect to the public in general, and to the Prince of Wales in particular. This makes the necessity appear evidently of a good concert, and pursuing it vigorously. If Earl Stair or others cannot get to London in time for the concert spoken of among the Commoners as to their returning to the House, and in what manner, &c., yet they should in my poor opinion be there as soon as possible, to a more general concert of the affairs of the public; and whether we are to enter on a war, or a new peace, under such a ministry, or under another ministry, the juncture is such, as calls for the best counsel and resolutions, for errors or neglects now will not be soon nor easily helped.

I am, with perfect truth and respect,
My Lord, your Lordship's most obedient,
Most humble, and ever faithful servant,
JAMES ERSKINE.

If the old Duchess of Marlborough were brought to think, that Earl Stair should go up, she would push Earl Chesterfield, &c., to write for him; and if she thought Earl Chesterfield for it, she would the more readily be for it too, because she has a mighty good opinion of him. I only doubt a little of her being for it, because she seems to have lost hopes of seeing things go right, and appears not to be quite pleased with Norfolk House. I hope your Lordship will be at London before the first of November.

William Pulteney, Esq. to the Hon. James Erskine.

[Extract.]

I take this opportunity to acquaint you that the Parliament is certainly to meet on the 15th of November. All our friends will be wrote to, desiring their presence in town at least ten days before the meeting, that we may consult what is proper for us to do after the late secession. This is a point of too much importance to be determined rashly on by a few; and should the opinion of the majority be to return again to Parliament, it will be highly proper to settle, what points we should push, and what measures are to be pursued.

By the appearance of things, we may easily suppose, it must be a session of consequence. When I wrote to Lord Stair, I told him, I thought nothing could be of more importance than a large appearance of our friends this winter, whether they were in or out of Parliament.

I am, &c.

London, Sept. 15th, 1739.

Alexander Earl of Marchmont to Lord Polwarth.

[Extract.]

Mon Cœur,

The last letter I had from you was on the 7th of this month. . . . . .

. . . . . .

I am sorry Mr. Pulteney did not come here; the expectation of it put the town of Edinburgh in a great ferment, as I am told; the people, to do him all honour,—and the magistrates, running out of town, lest they should be obliged to it. Make my compliments to him, and to all other friends. I am much obliged to Lord Bolingbroke for remembering me; give my blessing to Lady Polwarth and the children. Adieu.

Redbraes Castle, Sept. 20th, 1739.

Extract of a Letter from Alexander Earl of Marchmont to the Honourable James Erskine of Grange, dated Redbraes Castle, Oct. 1st, 1739.

I doubt not, the members on our side of the question will be all advertised to be up; you know, his Royal Highness will expect it.

The Earl of Stair to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

New Liston, Dec. 9th, 1739.

I know Sir Robert's confidence is not in the strength of his own party, but in the disunion of his opposers; you know the skill he has to profit of the weaknesses of mankind. Your Lordship will see by the memorial I send you inclosed, and which I have likewise sent to Earl Chesterfield, and by some other of my letters to him, that I am very far from thinking the condition of this nation desperate, if the leaders were to act like honest, or like able men; I hope they will, and in that case I shall, with great pleasure, and with great zeal, serve under the banner of any great man, to save this country; but if they should not unite, my resolution is to be quiet, and meddle no more.

Though I hear nothing from above, I shall be very well able to judge how matters are, by the measures that are taken to support the Place Bill; that occasion seems to declare strongly for instructions from the communities that send members to Parliament.

I must not end this letter without applauding the joint address[1] of both Houses of Parliament; that

[1] In approbation of the declaration of war against Spain.

looks like a step of able and wise men; I shall rejoice much by steps of the same nature.

My most hearty service to the worthy Duke of Montrose, Chesterfield, and Cobham, and your own family. I am very sorry in our situation to hear so little of Norfolk House; in my opinion that might and ought to be a very great card in our game.

When you see her Grace of Marlborough, you may assure her, that I shall ever be her servant, though entirely useless to her, to my friends, and to my country.

Memorial inclosed in the preceding Letter.

I shall take it for granted, that Great Britain has it in her power to make a prosperous war against Spain, spite of all the opposition that possibly can be made, even though France should meddle in the quarrel, by taking the Havannah[1], which can be done by raising troops in our colonies of America, headed by a very few regular troops sent from Britain. I mention the Havannah only, because *cela décide de la guerre.* The Havannah once taken, the body of troops can be employed in several other

[1] Lord Stair's sagacity is justified by the measures adopted respecting that place in the seven years' war, and their effects.

expeditions, which may be very useful and very practicable. I say nothing of the method of raising these troops in America; that is a consideration of another time and place. I shall only say, that by the means of our colonies in America Britain should get the better of any nation in a war in America. By a proper use made of our colonies, I do not know what we are not able to do in America.

This proposition is demonstrably true; but, I believe, it is no less true, that Sir Robert has no such intention. The disposition of raising men in America would appear; but as no such disposition appears, we may conclude, that Sir Robert's scheme is different. I am afraid, that it is to make a treaty with Spain by the mediation of France. If that treaty should be apparently good, Great Britain will find herself in the state of the horse in Horace's fable;

> Sed postquam victor violens discessit ab hoste,
> Non equitem dorso, non frænum depulit ore.

This being the case, as I am afraid it is, that we can neither secure our constitution at home, nor make a prosperous war abroad, whilst Sir Robert has the sole direction of our affairs, foreign and domestic, there is a preliminary absolutely necessary to the saving of the nation, and that is, the removing of Sir Robert. The question is, How that can be done? I shall freely tell my opinion, with great submission to better judgments. In the first place, there must be a perfect union amongst the

leaders of the country party; they must make one common cause of preserving their country, which indeed stands in the utmost danger; all the operations must be directed by one common council. Though there are many great and able men on the side of their country, yet in my opinion the great strength of the party is the people, who are entirely well-disposed to follow their leaders, to save themselves and their country from impending slavery. If the leaders will advise the communities to declare their sentiments on a very few public points, and instruct their representatives in Parliament accordingly, the strength of the country party will very soon appear so very great, that it will very soon put Sir Robert's gang out of countenance, and occasion a great many of them to think of changing their side. At the same time, it will be impossible for Sir Robert to continue to deceive his Majesty, by pretending that either the nation is of his side, or that by means of the Houses of Parliament, which are with him, he can govern the nation as he pleases. This method of proceeding appears to me a certain one, which the leaders of the opposition have entirely in their own power; I can see no objection to the using of it. Does it hinder anything else? If there is any good to be done by negociations, or otherways, does it hinder? On the contrary, must not everybody feel, that the credit of the strength of the people must be very favourable to negociations in either House of Parliament?

I need say no more. In my opinion, at this critical moment Britain may not only be saved, but she may come out of this war with safety and honour, nay, with great glory to her deliverers. But if the opportunity of this session of Parliament is neglected, to-morrow will be Sir Robert's and France's, without any possibility of relief.

Extract of a Letter from Alexander Earl of Marchmont[1] *to the Duke of Montrose dated London, February* 16*th*, 1739-40.

In the general, matters have been carried on in the usual manner; and the good effects, that might have been expected from right measures, have been obstructed in the manner your Grace has more than once been witness to; and I know not by what fatality, those, that seemed sensible of it, could not be brought to act with that spirit, that they had even had an example of, else there had been an end of the farce before now; how long it will last, I cannot take it upon me to guess. Names, and distinctions, and the bad consequences of them, destroy us.

[1] Alexander Earl of Marchmont died in this month.

PAPERS

OF

HUGH EARL OF MARCHMONT.

Mr. Pope to the Viscount Polwarth.

Mr. Allen's, Bath, Jan. 10th, 1739.

My Lord,

I have at last prevailed over my modesty, to write to your Lordship. It is a truth I desired one of my friends to tell you, that the only reason I did not in all this time, was, that I esteem you so much, that I cannot tell what to say to you. I can account to myself for the motives, near or remote, of most of the old and young men's virtue and public spirit; and I can perceive some views or other in each; but if you have any, in any degree adequate to the spirit you act with, I think they must be very great; you must be interested in a higher view than others; and therefore I wish I knew what it is, that I may admire you less, and understand you better.

You cannot think how three months of this winter have thinned my correspondences; the leaves have dropped off more and more every week. The world about St. James's could not faster forget a retired minister; but I think I can forget that world

much easier than he could do. I am learning Horace's verse,

Oblitusque meorum, obliviscendus et illis ;

but I learn it (what I think the best way) backwards :

In unambitious silence be my lot,
Yet ne'er a friend forgetting, till forgot !

My Lord Cornbury[1] will not fall under this predicament; it is I that do not write to him, for a reason not unlike that, which made me silent to you. I do not pay him, because he has trusted me too deep. I am in debt too to Cleland, but it is for another sort of coin of a more plentiful kind than Lord Cornbury's; however, pray, when you see him, (that I may be honest, even to farthings) give him my receipt.

January 10th, 1739.

Received of Mr. Cleland[2] the sum of six pages quarto of an obliging letter, for which I hereby acknowledge myself accountable.

A. Pope.

Now, my Lord, to the whole business of this letter. I only wish to know, you, and all you love,

[1] Eldest son of the Earl of Clarendon, long member for the University of Oxford. He was a Tory, but defended Sir Robert Walpole, when Mr. Sandys moved an address for his removal on the 13th February, 1741.

[2] This appears to be Mr. William Cleland, a Scotsman educated at Utrecht, who served in Spain, had the rank of Major, and was afterwards in the civil service. He was a man highly esteemed, and of great learning. He is mentioned by Swift and Pope, and was an intimate friend of the latter. He was one of the persons to whom the proceedings of the Scots Peers, who met at Edinburgh on the 1st December, 1733, were to be communicated.

are well, and particularly, that Lord Marchmont is as well as yourself. I wish him almost as young too (deducting only those years without which he could not have begot you). I am, with the sincerest respect, and warmest affection,

My Lord,

Your most faithful and obliged servant,

A. POPE.[1]

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Viscount Polwarth.

I should be more in the wrong than most men, if I had not all that indulgence to the weaknesses of others which your Lordship, I hope justly, as well as kindly, ascribes to me; but I can say without any flattery, for flattery is unworthy of you, and of me, that I never found this indulgence wanting to support my inclination to love and honour you.

Strong and sudden emotions, the surprises of a good heart, would be considered in the school of Zeno among the pretenders to apathy. High notions of virtue, and an avowed detestation of knaves would be censured in the school of Aris-

[1] Lord Polwarth had succeeded to his father's title of Marchmont, when Pope enumerated him amongst the distinguished patriots, who, as it appears to be conveyed to us, had received inspiration in his grotto at Twickenham :—

——— 'Lo th' Ægerian grot,
'Where nobly pensive St. John sat and thought;
'Where British sighs from dying Wyndham stole,
'And the bright flame was shot through Marchmont's soul.'

tippus: be ashamed of neither. My Lord, to form a great and good character, it is not enough to have a mind fraught with knowledge, and to possess all the talents necessary to employ this knowledge with effect; the heart must be touched with esteem and contempt, with love and hatred, and with a zeal in the cause of truth and virtue, that excludes all indifference, and much more, all servile compliances.

Let the object of our conduct be determined by knowledge, by experience, and by reflection; let prudence regulate the measures of it, but let the sentiments of the heart animate the whole. I saw and I felt with great pleasure, that they animated your's, in an age and country where the fewest symptoms of them appear, and where the utmost want of them exists. Your fire revived the dying embers of mine, fanned them with hope, and kindled them anew. I returned to my hermitage not only with a concern for my country, which will accompany me everywhere, but with a mind bent on endeavours to be of some public utility even there. Cooler reflection, fresher and repeated information, shew me but too plainly, that I can be of none. I can employ nothing but my pen; and if that was what your partiality to me makes you think it is, how could I flatter myself enough to hope to do any real services by it? Writing and speaking are of use to prepare, to accompany, and to support actions; but they become impertinent when they go alone, and the whole scheme begins, continues, and

ends in them. I have seen them often employed within a few years to raise a spirit; and the spirits as often remain unimproved to any good purpose. I am hurt, and your Lordship will acknowledge that I have some reason to be so, when I hear, that the same persons[1] as think my name, and much more, my presence in Britain, whenever I am there, does them mischief, should express any expectation, of that kind you mention, from me. They treat me a little too lightly; but I wish, that it was me alone whom they treated so, and that the greatest interests of their country were not treated as lightly. No neglect of me should cool my zeal, or slacken my endeavours in their service, and that of the cause they profess to espouse; but I discern very plainly, that our friends will not, or cannot, support a measure they have valued themselves much for taking, and pawned themselves to support. Will they do anything better when they have pawned me too? I think not. I have thrown upon paper some thoughts, which your Lordship's draught suggested to me, and which may serve to explain and enforce facts and arguments that you have employed. I thought myself sure of a safe conveyance of it about ten days ago; but this conveyance has failed me, so that I am much at a loss how to send papers to you that must not be exposed to any risk, and that may not be of much use perhaps if they should come safe to

[1] Mr. Pulteney and his immediate friends.—See Coxe's Walpole.

your hands. I apprehend, that it is scarce possible to explain and justify the secession[1] without speaking as plainly, as these papers speak in the latter part of them, and yet I doubt very much, whether it be advisable to throw them out as they are; if you should throw them out as they are, or with proper

[1] The matter, on which Lord Bolingbroke reasons here is, the secession of the opposition from the House of Commons, led by Sir William Wyndham in March 1739, on an address, which virtually approved a convention concluded between the British and Spanish governments for adjusting the differences between the two countries, being carried. A secession of a party from parliament is so obvious a failure in both duty and prudence, that a benevolent looker-on will always recommend to the seceder to get back into his place as well and as fast as he can;

——— 'mature redeat, repetatque relicta.'

But Coxe states, that Sir William Wyndham, who then bade 'a final adieu' to the House, was usually supposed to be the adviser of this measure under the instigation of Lord Bolingbroke. However, in this letter his Lordship expresses a decided opinion, that the secession required to be supported by other measures; he complains of an inevitable consequence of it, that Sir Robert Walpole was left at liberty to pursue his own measures; and at the end of it, when he suggests a step to be taken, it is in order that it may enable his friends to resume their functions in parliament. It appears from these papers, that Mr. Pulteney entirely approved the measure, of which however the inconveniences were very soon felt. And it appears also from some of them, that it was justly estimated in the public mind from the first. It became an early care of the opposition to strive to devise means by which they might open to themselves a way back to the House of Commons, without seeming inconsistency, and upon the shoulders of their constituents. But upon these means they could not agree, and had to resume their places in the House as best they might, in the teeth of their alleged motives and protestations. They lived in a time of confusion of parties, which is necessarily unfavourable to public virtue, as whilst it often brings embarrassment to the conscientious, so it frequently furnishes excuses, and perpetually opportunities to the weak, the inconsistent, and the unprincipled; and this was a state of things which Bolingbroke had labored especially to produce, as it was the one the most likely to be subservient to his purposes, circumstanced as he was, and perhaps the one the most congenial to his mind, such as it was evidently left after all the vicissitudes and apostacies of his public life.

alterations, and softenings, some introduction of them, grounded on some new events, and new events will happen, must be prefixed to account for resuming the whole proceeding so late. Use your prudence, my dear Lord, in this, but allow me to insist on two things; that you do not expose yourself to any trouble for men, who will not so much as keep your secret; and that no suspicion may go abroad of my having any share in the writing; for which purpose, since Mr. P. quoted me, I think he should be told, that I have refused absolutely to write on the subject. Your endeavours to expose the attempts that are made to revive party names, are great services to your country in a most important point, my dear Lord; and the collateral reasons, that you mention to have prompted you to write a paper on that subject, are of weight; but what shall we say, and what are we to hope, when the men, who should on all accounts lead, animate, and prompt others, are themselves to be led, animated, and prompted; and when even this cannot oblige them to give a due attention, and exert a proper vigour in such a critical conjuncture? I expect no effectual measures for asserting the honour and interest of the nation to be taken.

Walpole is left at liberty to pursue his own measures; and they are not such most certainly. The true measure and the sole principle, from which any good consequence can follow, is to deny peremptorily to admit the pretensions of the Spaniards to

be *materia tractandi;* and I have not found any man of sense and knowledge on this side of the water who thinks otherwise. This is plainly designed to be evaded by the minister; and the late proceedings in Parliament will encourage him to evade it, as the general terms, in which the resolutions of Parliament are couched, will give him pretence and means of evading it. The vast expence you are to make will serve at best, as many times it has happened since this administration, to mend a little, and that perhaps in appearance only, the conduct and issue of a ridiculous negociation; and the great increase of the land forces threatens Britain more than Spain. All that remains for me to do, and, I fear, almost all that remains for you, is to lament the fate of our country. A state is equally desperate, when there are no remedies to be found, that are equal to the distempers of it, and when there are such to be found, but neither hands to administer them, nor perhaps strength of constitution sufficient to bear them. In one of these cases I am sure we are; we are perhaps in both. Plato complained, that he lived in the dotage of the Athenian commonwealth, and gave that reason for speaking and writing what he thought of the government of his country, and for taking no further part in it. If our citizens will be persuaded, let us persuade them, said the philosopher; if they will not, we neither can, nor ought to force them. Are we not in the dotage of our commonwealth, my Lord? are

we not in the second infancy, when rattles and hobby-horses take up all our attention, and we truck for playthings our most essential interests? In a first infancy there is hope of amendment, the puerile habits wear off, and those of manhood succeed; reason grows stronger, and admits of daily improvement. We observe, we reflect, we hear, we persuade ourselves, or we are persuaded by others; but in a second infancy, what hope remains? Reason grows weaker; the passions, the baser passions, the inferior sentiments of the heart, avarice, envy, self-conceit and obstinacy grow stronger; and the habits we have then accompany us to the grave.

July 22d, (N.S.) 1739.

I writ what is above long ago; and when I hoped after many disappointments to have found a secure method of conveying my letter, and the papers you expect with it, to your Lordship's hands, I take up my pen again at this time, because I expect Mr. Breton here in a day or two, who is to set out for London immediately after his visit to me, and to whom I can confide my packet. I give you, my dear Lord, a full power over all I have written,—a power as full as that which you gave me, and I have exercised, over your draught. Add, strike out, alter, as you think fit, or destroy the whole, if you please. All the public accounts, and all the private anecdotes, that come to my knowledge from Britain, make me apprehend what I will own to you

alone,—and it is this, that honest men may do honor to themselves by asserting, in every way they can, the liberties of their country to the last, but that these liberties are too far invaded, the invasions of them too much confirmed, and the spirit of them too much lost, to be retrieved by any apparent means. What has happened in the course of opposition to Walpole's administration puts me in mind of what happened in the beginning of the late King's reign, when the Tories suffered themselves to be pushed into rebellion, and undertook, passionately and rashly, an enterprise that of all others requires the coolest counsels, and most deliberate measures.

When you read some papers, that I shall send to our friend Pope ere it be long, you will not be surprised at my saying, that there is a great similitude between the conduct held by the Tory party then, and that which our coalited party has held since; and that there is a greater connexion between the passages of that time, and those of this, than even the men, who have been witnesses of both, do commonly suppose. Solicitation of friends, and persecution of enemies drew me into those engagements, as soon as the act of attainder[1] had set me free, ac-

[1] Lord Bolingbroke's pardon under the Great Seal, which enabled him to return to England, was granted in May, 1723. A Bill passed in 1725, which restored to him his family inheritance, and rendered him capable of purchasing property, real and personal. But he remained till his death under exclusion from office, and from parliament.

Lord Polwarth, afterwards the second Earl of Marchmont, when appointed to

cording to my apprehension of things, from the engagements I had taken before to the government, and from which I would not have departed, if this act had not passed; as I never did depart, till it had passed. I was no sooner in these engagements, but I began to see the probable consequences of them. The party was made up of papists, and of Jacobites little better for our purpose than papists; of Tories, who went into all the desperate extremes without any principle, which these men went into by principle; of others, who meant nothing more than opposing a Tory king to a Whig king; and of others again who meant nothing more than to bring the government, by the figure they made in the opposition, to treat separately with them. A party thus constituted, seemingly united, but really divided,

be one of the ambassadors at the Congress of Cambray, was directed to take Paris in way, that he might be enabled to confer with the French ministers on the matters to be submitted to it. The following extract from a letter of his gives an account of a conversation which he had with Lord Bolingbroke, then a fugitive there, by orders from Lord Carteret, Foreign Secretary of State, to whom it is addressed. It is dated Paris, March 15th, 1722.

'My Lord Bolingbroke having come to see me, and I being informed before 'he came, that he thought himself neglected and forgot, I took an opportunity, 'and told him what your Lordship ordered me, that the first favourable oppor- 'tunity of doing his business would be laid hold on. He expressed uneasiness, 'that it had been so very long delayed, and said that some reasons might always 'occur for putting it off; that he had neglected considerable advances made to 'him from Spain and others; that he could bring himself to, and could go 'through with any resolution, even to go and live in the remotest mountain of 'Switzerland; but that lasting uncertainty was heavy. I shewed some of the 'reasons, I see, he already knew, of the delay, which he was satisfied in. I 'am well informed, that he has acted a fair part since he came off from the bad 'party he had taken, and has refused to hearken [to] very considerable offers 'made him since that time.'

proceeded, as you may imagine, without concert, cheated one another, and would have been unable to pursue a reasonable scheme with steadiness and vigour, if such a scheme had been prepared for 'em. After their first disappointments and defeats, and after I was wholly disengaged from them, they continued to act in the same manner. As I had seen that the effect of such an opposition to the late King could be no other than that of strengthening the establishment it was intended to subvert, so I thought that I saw very plainly two other things of no small importance; one was this, that the great zeal of most of the Whigs for the Hanover succession was the zeal of party, by which I mean, that they intended to engross all the power and profit of the state to themselves, exclusively of all other subjects under this establishment, and that this differed little from the spirit of faction, and must sooner or latter end in the government of a faction; the other was this, that the Tories being avowedly Jacobites, and therefore enemies to the present establishment, the general character of so large a party, though they continued inactive, and the silly enterprises of desperate men breaking out at different times, would make all the friends of the establishment concur, without any party or factious motive, in giving such powers and such forces to the crown, and in neglecting so long the ancient and strict forms of our constitution, that, one time or other, that which had been intended to secure the

establishment, might turn to strengthen the administration in the hands of a faction. I was so full of these apprehensions, that I began early, as early as the years 16 and 17, to do all in my power to persuade the men, I had acted with, to purge themselves of Jacobitism, that they might no longer serve as a pretence for weakening and undermining the constitution, and for continuing maladministration, whilst they waited sullenly for the opportunity of renewing attempts to bring about a change, that might be demonstrated impracticable, as well as ineligible, upon all the principles they professed. It was this that made me so earnest to engage the Tories to embrace the opportunity, my Lord Sunderland opened to them, of coming sincerely into the interests, and heartily into the service, of the late King, and of coalescing with the Whigs. Some of these would have hung off; some of the Tories would have done the same; and Shippen[1] and Walpole might have been united from that hour. *Quorsum hæc?*—to shew you the effects of an ill-concerted opposition, and that such an opposition was formerly in a bad cause, what you see it actually in a good one, worse for those who made it, and better for those against whom it was made, than no opposition at all could have been; to shew you how early

[1] The leader of the Jacobites in the House of Commons, who did not disguise his devotion to the Stuart family, or his obedience to its commands. He however declared himself against Mr. Sandys's motion for Sir Robert Walpole's removal, and left the House with his friends.

the foundations were laid of the tyranny of faction, under which you suffer at this hour, by Whigs factiously for the government, and Tories factiously and rebelliously against it. To confirm your Lordship, if you wanted to be confirmed in that principle, that as long as the spirit of Whiggism and Toryism is kept alive by knaves and fools, the pretence of supporting the present establishment by methods destructive of our constitution will remain, and that nothing can preserve this constitution but an union and coalition of men of different parties on a national bottom, which few of those in the opposition do really intend. This is the worst symptom I discover in our states's illness. Want of concert, activity, and steadiness, may proceed from genius, temper, and habit; but this must proceed from a vicious principle at heart. If a man tells you, that the measures you propose are absolutely necessary to save his country and yours from further ill consequences of maladministration and from the loss of liberty, but that he cannot take them, or cannot appear to take them, because they would turn to the ruin of the Whigs, must you not conclude, that such a man considers the interest of his country in subordination to that of a party, which is the character of this rankest faction, and prefers his credit in that party to all the duties of a good citizen? All I have been saying has a desponding air; and if I do not absolutely despond, the truth is, I entertain very little hopes. Our patriots, for such they desire to be

thought, and such I wish they were, made a declaration to the people of Britain, when they made the secession, that they could do no real service to their country till the independency of parliament was restored. This formal appeal to the people included the engagement of every man, who concurred in it, to use his utmost endeavors, in concert with the people, that this independency might be effectually restored and secured. What room now will there be to entertain the least gleam of hope, if neither a sense of public good nor of private honor can render these men true to an engagement so solemn and so important? It had been better for both not to take the step, than not to carry it forward. To declare the independency of Parliament lost, and to sit still, is to acquiesce under the loss, to admit this real, not imaginary subversion of the British constitution. On the event therefore of the present measure I fix my eyes. If the people will not stand by those, who stand by them, or if they, who have undertaken the defence of the national cause, slink from it, you are a subdued nation. Walpole is your tyrant to-day; and any man his Majesty pleases to name, Horace[1] or Leheup, may be so to-morrow. In this case, what can I do, my Lord, who can do so little in any other? You know my principles; you know the real sentiments of my heart. I would contribute at any risk to save the British constitution, and to establish an administra-

[1] Probably Horace Walpole, Sir Robert's brother.

tion upon national principles. But if the spirit at home rises as little, and turns as ill as I apprehend, neither I nor you, nor any small number of men, can avert the evil. My letter grows too long; but it is hard to leave a subject, on which the heart speaks, in writing to one who deserves that the heart should speak to him. One word more I must add about the papers. If you throw them in any form into the world, call Pope to your assistance in one respect that I have neglected, in disguising the style: further than him and Wyndham, or Chetwynde, I exact, my dear Lord, that the knowledge of my share in them may not go. I have writ to them both. Let me conclude, without compliments or ceremony; the honour I have for you is too real, the friendship too warm, to admit of either. They are a base alloy, a counterfeit coin to pay imaginary, not real, debts; and those that I owe you on every private and public account are real. Adieu, my dear Lord. Heaven protect you! and may that virtue, which directs your conduct, support your mind. Let me pray you to assure my Lord, your father, of my sincere respects; and when you have an opportunity, put my Lord Stair in mind of one, who loves and honors him.

It comes into my mind to ask you, my dear Lord, whether you do not think, that an application from those counties, and cities, and boroughs, whose members voted against the convention, might be as effectual as any method, and less liable to contradiction. I mean, that this application should be

to their own members, approving their conduct, thanking them for it, expressing their abhorrence of this infamous treaty, and their concern, that it was not censured, as well as the author of it, observing that the same minister, who attempted to oppress his country a few years ago with new excises, has now not only attempted to give up the honour and navigation [and] trade of Britain to a foreign nation, but has really done it for many years together, has given it up by the conduct of his administration, and almost directly by treaty, and has done all this with impunity, &c.

Some of the most glaring instances may be here interspersed. They may then express their sense, that restoring the independency of Parliament is the only secure way of correcting this and every other abuse of power, and insist on their right to preserve that fundamental principle of their free constitution of government, for which purpose they are ready to concur with, and assist their members in their endeavours to obtain an act, &c.

Might you not return to the House thus backed and thus instructed, and there insist to do no business till a Place Bill was obtained ?[1]

[1] The first part of this letter has no date. It must have been written from Argeville, Lord Bolingbroke's residence in France, after the secession of the opposition from the House of Commons on the 9th March, 1739.

As Lord Bolingbroke in this letter complains of the effect produced upon him by the persecution of enemies in driving him into engagements with the Pretender, the three following notes, written by the late Mr. Rose, and subjoined to three different passages in Coxe's Walpole, are here inserted, as they

Sir William Wyndham to the Viscount Polwarth.

O. W.[1], Aug. 13th, 1739.

My Lord,

The post of yesterday brought the inclosed for your Lordship; I at the same time received a letter from the gentleman in town, to whom I had wrote; he tells me his last letter from our friend[2] was of the 29th past, in which he says to him, 'I must 'desire you to renew my compliments and excuses

tend to throw light on that subject, and upon points in the conduct of his Lordship's enemy, Lord Oxford.

'Lord Bolingbroke told the Earl of Marchmont, he had a firm conviction, 'arising from various sources of information, that a treaty had been con- 'cluded between the Whigs and Lord Oxford, of which he was to be the 'sacrifice, and that the spilling his blood was actually decided on. He never 'however attempted, even on that ground, to justify his foolish and wicked 'conduct after his arrival in France.'

'Lord Oxford certainly was not prevailed with to the last to accord with the 'views of the Jacobites respecting the succession of the Pretender. It is how- 'ever possible, that, previous to the Queen's death, there may have been such 'an understanding between him and the Whigs, as to secure his personal 'safety.'

Lord Bolingbroke mentioned to the Earl of Marchmont, that a short time before the Queen's death the ministers were in a state of 'uncertainty, whether 'they should promote the succession of the House of Hanover, or of the Pre- 'tender; that they could not on that point bring Lord Oxford to a decision. 'After sounding him various times in private, the Duke of Shrewsbury was 'deputed by the others to entreat him to determine, to which court they should 'go, and to assure him, that his decision should govern theirs, which the Duke 'did at a Cabinet meeting with much earnestness, and with tears in his eyes, 'but without being able to prevail with his Lordship to decide; from which 'time they determined on his removal.'

[1] Orchard Wyndham, a seat of Sir William Wyndham.

[2] Doubtless Lord Bolingbroke, then in France.

'to those of my friends, who may complain of my 'silence; let me desire them to be assured, that 'they will soon find I am not capable of giving them 'any real reason of complaint.'

I hope you have performed your journey happily, though the afternoon of yesterday was not as good weather, as I wished it for you. You cannot imagine how much I feel myself obliged to you for your goodness in coming to us, and for the cheerfulness with which you supported our solitude. Though the entertainment was, as you must be sensible, in all the homeliness of the country, be persuaded, it was with all the sincerity to which the innocence of that manner of life lays claim. Lord Blandford and my daughter desire their compliments to you; that is a word which comes very improperly after the sentence which precedes it; but you are to understand by it, when used from this house, good will and regard.

I am, most truly, my dear Lord,
Your faithful humble servant,
W. WYNDHAM[1].

Let me desire you to assure Lord Murray of my respects and services.

[1] A portrait of Sir William Wyndham, which belonged to Lord Marchmont, has the following inscription on it:—
'Vir cui ad summam auctoritatem nihil præter civium sanam mentem defuit.' What follows is in Mr. Rose's handwriting, as a note in his copy of Coxe's 'Sir Robert Walpole.' 'Sir William Wyndham told the Earl of Marchmont [Earl 'Hugh], with whom he lived in habits of the strictest intimacy, that the ar- 'resting him was a violation of a solemn promise made to the Duke of Somer- 'set, on the Duke engaging that he should be forthcoming; and he more than

Sir William Wyndham to Viscount Polwarth.

O. W., Sept. 26th, 1739.

I have yours of the 22d, my dear Lord. I know by what Mr. B. brought me, that you have received something[1] which I should be glad to see, when I can see it without the risk of its being exposed where it should not be seen. As I find the parliament is ordered to meet on the 15th of November, and that I must go to Wiltham, I have laid aside the thoughts of going to Bath as I intended; my present determination is to leave this place on Monday se'nnight, and reach Wiltham as this day fortnight; and I propose, God willing, to be within the bills of mortality in the first day of November. I hope a good many of our friends will be up by that time. I do not doubt our Worcestershire friend, from whom I have had a letter in answer to that which you carried; but I will acquaint him with my

'once mentioned that, on entering the Tower, the White Horse (the arms of 'Hanover) over the gateway struck him forcibly, it having been predicted to 'him that he would suffer by a white horse. He added, that once in hunting 'he dismounted from a white horse he rode,' *in order to turn him over a leap, and received a severe kick from him.* The words in italics are supplied from recollection, the note having been mutilated by the bookbinder.

Sir William Wyndham was sent to the Tower as a suspicious person on the rebellion breaking out in 1715. The Duke of Somerset was his father-in-law.

[1] See Lord Bolingbroke's letter to Lord Polwarth, of the 22d July, 1739. The papers thus mentioned, as they could not be sent by the post, might not have been received till long after the date of that letter.

motions. I may possibly make a visit to Bath to see Lord Chesterfield; but if I do, it will not be for more than twenty-four hours. If you have an opportunity, I should be glad to be informed of the situation of mind in which you find our friend[1], who deals in uncertainties.

The women here assure your Lordship of their best compliments. Betty has met with a disgrace, having fallen into the water going to the kitchen garden, and swam through the bridge heels foremost. I do not [know] if she will forgive me for telling her misfortunes.

I am, with great truth, your Lordship's
Most faithful, humble servant,
W. WYNDHAM.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Viscount Polwarth.

October 15th, 1739.

My dear Lord,

An opportunity of writing to you, that I esteem safe, presenting itself, I cannot resolve to let it slip, though neither this country nor yours afford me any new matter. The French will seek no quarrel with you, and you are as little disposed as ever to have one in good earnest with the Spaniards.

[1] Probably Mr. Pulteney. See Lord Polwarth's letter to his father of the 17th August, 1739.

Geraldino[1], in his passage through this country home, was high in his panegyrics of your minister; and there is nobody here who makes any doubt, that they understand one another, and that all the fleets of Spain will be as successful as that of the Assogues. I believe it true, that he reported the sole point, on which his last conferences with the British ministers turned, to have been the recall of Haddock, as the preliminary of a new negociation; that he represented these ministers as easy on this head, *qu'ils ne demandoient pas mieux;* that the answer, he put into their mouths, was to this effect: *qu'ils ne pouvoient pas donner cet ordre quant à présent; qu'il connoissoit leur constitution; et qu'ils étoient dans la nécessité de satisfaire le peuple sur quelques points.* His answer was, according to the same report, *Messieurs, les galions sont en sûreté, et les ordres sont donnés, pour qu'il ne sorte pas une barque des ports de l'Espagne; ainsi vous pouvez achever de vous ruiner en couvrant les mers de vos flottes.* Surely, my Lord, nothing like to this can be quoted from the anecdotes of any administration whatever. Nothing can save your right to a free navigation in the American seas, but a preliminary retractation of their pretension by the Spaniards. After all the instances[2] wherein they have claimed and exercised

[1] His proper designation was Sir Thomas Fitzgerald. He had been the Spanish minister in London.

[2] The following note in Mr. Rose's handwriting, refers to the instance the most relied on by the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, that of Jenkins:— 'Jenkins was certainly examined at the bar of the House of Commons; but

their supposed right to search and confiscate, and wherein your ministers have basely and treacherously submitted to it, to treat now without such a preliminary retractation, is to give up your right more formally than ever. This is the sense of every indifferent man I have heard talk on the subject; and this is the meaning of all those who have exclaimed against the conduct of your ministers, that is, of the whole British nation. Notwithstanding this, your minister dares to treat without any such preliminary; nay, is ready to grant in favour of Spain a preliminary, which nothing could make to pass but Spanish insolence and British baseness. It may seem strange to those who consider the thing abstractedly from certain circumstances, that a single minister should dare to set up his judgment, dictated by ignorance, humour, and private interest, against the judgment of a whole nation, founded in the plainest principles of policy, and fortified by the whole tenour of treaties; but this will appear no longer strange, when it is considered, that corruption and imbecility have conspired to leave this great national interest in the hands of the same man, who has neglected or betrayed it for eighteen years together; that he, who has given it up, is entrusted

' no proceedings of a Committee, or even of the whole House, appear on the ' Journals, except in the shape of a report. Lord Marchmont told me, he ' heard him give the account of his ears having been cut off, on the cruelty of ' which he (Lord Marchmont) was expatiating the same evening after dinner, ' at Sir William Wyndham's, when Shippen declared, Jenkins had both his ' ears on his head, the truth of which was afterwards ascertained.'

to recover it; and that he has a prospect greater than ever opened to him of pursuing the ruin of his country with impunity, since he is suffered to arm against his country under pretence of arming against Spain. This meaning is plain. If you yield to him, if he saves Spain from the necessity of a retractation, and obliges you to retract by your future conduct that which you held when you made the secession, his yoke is imposed on you in the present case, and cannot be shaken off in any other. If you continue firm in asserting the interest of your country and your own honour, he has 30,000 men to back him, and the name of a King and a parliament to varnish over his iniquitous cause, whenever he sees proper to commit any acts of violence. My mind has long foreboded such cruel extremities as these; and every friend I have knows how often I have expressed my fears several years ago, that parliamentary opposition would not succeed for want of steadiness and vigor; that corruption would give the minister an entire advantage over you in the constitutional forms; and that then the sole effect of having opposed him would be to frighten him so far, as to make him provide and employ farther and extra constitutional means of supporting himself. I apprehend that this is come to pass, and that the vassalage of Great Britain under the dominion of Walpole is very near completed. I have cast my mite into the treasury of liberty. I have done all I could do to prevent this

fatal issue of things, and disarmed by my country have combated for her. I would do so still, if it was still in my power; but it is not so; I wish it may be still in yours; this I am sure of, that nothing can make it so but a temper of mind prepared for all events, and a firm resolution to serve the public at every private expence whatsoever, at that of fortune, or that of life. False notions, or rather false pretences of moderation, have brought this ruin on you. Measures have been simply, or wickedly kept with a man, who has never kept any, it was useful or safe for him to break; and thus, for fear of disturbing the government, the constitution is exposed to a double invasion, by parliamentary corruption, and by a military force. You are now in a conjuncture, wherein nothing less than a spice of honest enthusiasm can repair what indolent trifling habits, want of application, and want of vigor have almost destroyed. Shall I make any excuse for saying so much, when I thought of saying so little, and upon a subject on which I can say nothing new? No, my Lord, not to you; you will read in the same spirit in which I write; and if the fulness of my heart overflows to you, the fulness of yours will overflow to me. I had writ thus far before I recollected two things, that it may be worth while to mention to you. The answer which, it is said, Geraldino made to our minister, confirms what I was told some months ago by a man, who knows the inside of the court of Spain extremely well. He

told me, that they did not much apprehend they should have war with Britain, and if they had, that they reckoned, they had nothing more to do to tire us of it, and to make us waste our strength in fruitless expeditions against them, than to keep their ports shut, to defend such parts of their coasts in America, as are capable of defence, and to abandon, by withdrawing the inhabitants from them, such as are not capable of being defended: that this measure might be of some loss and inconveniency to them; but that they knew our condition, our divisions, our debts, our apparent wealth, and real poverty; and, in short, that they thought they should be able to defend themselves in this manner longer than we should be able to support the expence of attacking them. The other anecdote will serve to shew you in what esteem we are held by our neighbours. A man, and a principal man, and one who is a proper judge in matters of this kind, after allowing in confidence that the pretension of the Spaniards is groundless and impertinent, added, that the whole of the conduct of the British ministers appeared ridiculous and absurd. The French, said he, have frequent disputes with the Spaniards about limits in St. Domingo, and on other points. Do they treat in form, or make war with the Spaniards upon these quarrels? Not at all. When the Spaniards do them one injury, or offer them one insult, they return it threefold. When the Spaniards complain, they send the affair back to America, and

leave it to be wrangled out there. The English have never once taken this method in eighteen years, though a few frigates would have been sufficient for the purpose. They have sustained immense loss, they have borne intolerable insults, they have established in some sort the pretension of Spain by acquiescence, and by treaty, and now they equip a great fleet, and raise an army, and threaten a war to make Spain depart in terms from that pretension, from which they may, whenever they please, make her depart in fact without any very extraordinary effort. Surely, my Lord, there is sense and truth in these reflections.

We hear, that your Parliament is to meet in November; and the conduct of your grand vizir denotes, pretty well, what turn the resolutions of that divan will take; I expect no good; pray God I may be deceived.

You easily judge, that this letter is for no one but yourself, and Wyndham, and one or two of our most intimate friends. Make my compliments, I beseech you, to these, and let not my name be mentioned to others. I would have written to Sir William, but that he will not be in town at the time this letter arrives; and I persuade myself that writing to you is writing to him. Adieu, my dear Lord; I embrace you with all the warmth of a sincere friend, and all the respect of a devoted servant.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Viscount Polwarth.

New-Year's Day, 1740.

I would write to you often, my dear Lord, if I had opportunities of safe conveyance, or if I could write, any more than talk to you, without opening my heart. If my conversation or correspondence have been of any instruction to you, yours have been of much consolation and pleasure to me, for I have found in you the very character that must save our country, if it can be saved from destruction. I will not make your panegyric to yourself; but this I will say; go on as you have begun, and you will go farther in the paths of honor and virtue than any man I have seen. We, who were before your time in the public scene, came thither when the vortices of two parties ran so strongly round, that, to be drawn into one or the other, was, I think, inevitable. You have appeared in the world when these parties subsist no longer, neither in appearance nor reality, though knaves and fools amuse and are amused by the names. The men of experience and authority, and who made the greatest figures in business formerly, were solicitous on all sides to list into their several rolls every young man who appeared, to instil the prejudices, and inspire the spirit of party into him, and to dip him, while the first fervor lasted, in engagements that might continue to be

shackles upon him as long as he lived. And even when the fervor was over, when your Lordship came into Parliament, the case was altered. There was on one side a minister who troubled not himself to instil particular prejudices, or inspire a particular spirit, but bluntly offered to buy every one that was to be sold. There were on the other side a number of men coalited from the parties, that had subsisted formerly, who acknowledged the errors and excesses into which they had run, and whose union was so far from being a party union, that it was founded on the destruction of party, and could subsist on no principles but national principles, such as the government was built upon, such as regarded the good of the whole, and not such as suited the humor, prejudice, or interest, of any set of men. These circumstances, which I touch lightly, and which deserve to be more considered, formed a conjuncture very favourable to you, my dear Lord, and to the young men who came on the public stage about the same time. You had, and you have it in your power, to set out where the best of us ended. The confessions of Whigs and Tories leave no room to disguise the faults of either; and the complete knowledge, and the full assurance you have, or may have of these, set them before your eyes like examples of what you are to avoid, and furnish you with unanswerable reasons not to revive the spirit, and with the spirit the iniquity of party. With what face indeed can men, who valued themselves

not long ago for their independency on party, preach the necessity or expediency of reuniting the Whigs at this time? How can they hope to persuade men, who entered undebauched by faction into the late opposition upon national principles, and with national views, to turn this very opposition into faction? Is it not manifest, that two or three men have been laboring some years to turn a virtuous defence of the constitution, and a virtuous opposition to maladministration into a dirty intrigue of low ambition? that they are preparing to continue Walpole's scheme of government in other hands, and that the sole object of their pretended patriotism is to deliver over the government of their country from faction to faction? If they succeed, it must be because numbers intend the same thing. They cannot succeed by deceiving numbers, as they might have done formerly, for this reason. I would fain hope that their success will be neither complete nor durable. There are no doubt ecclesiastical politicians, who regret the precious ages of ignorance and superstition, when implicit faith and blind obedience were in fashion, and the cause of an ambitious and avaricious priesthood passed for the cause of religion. But these men would flatter themselves grossly, if they hoped to restore ignorance and superstition, after so much light has been let into the world; or, without restoring those, to restore ecclesiastical tyranny. May this be the case of our civil politicians! It should be so on a double ac-

count, because the men, who would restore now the dominion of party, are the very men who valued themselves so lately on a contrary measure; and because there is no party to give a pretence to forming a party. The obstinate Tories are really out of the case; they are a set of men who deserve no consideration, and who would have none very soon, if the court gave them none.

My letter grows into length before I am aware; and it is the more reasonable I should stop my hand, because you have, at this time especially, something better to do than to read the letters of one, who ought to be more curious of receiving yours. I writ some time ago to Mr. Brinsden, I think, to inform him, that Sir William Wyndham's letter and yours had been opened, not on the other side, but on this, as I supposed. If Breton comes over, as he intended, about this time, the conveyance will be perfectly safe from all accidents; if he does not, Mr. Brinsden can send your letters from time to time by safe hands to Calais; but from thence they will come to mine by the post, which however is of no great moment, because in our correspondence there can be nothing to interest this country, or to give the minister either pleasure or pain. Adieu, my dear Lord. I am, with the utmost esteem, and the warmest affection, devoted to you for my whole life.

Mr. Pope to Viscount Polwarth.

Mr. Allen's at Bath, Jan. 9th, 1740.

My Lord,

That I am mindful of you, while I live, is the greatest of truths. That I live, I desired a friend of mine to tell you. That you are well, I shall also hear, whether you write to me or not. If I do not hear, I shall be in pain, and write to you. What then have I to say? I only write now to tell you, that you are remembered by one whose memory you will think a credit, and find a comfort to you. He says of you, that you assist your country's friends, *et consilio, et poce, et etiam vultu.*

May you continue to do this till we become a people deserving your utmost care! at present even this is more than we deserve. But pray, my Lord, know there is one more who knows your heart and honours your virtue, besides Lord B———[1]; and that is,

Your faithful servant,

A. Pope.

am in great pain to find out Mr. Hook[2]. Does y(r Lordship, or Mr. Hume, or Dr. King, know re he is?

[1] Lord Bolingbroke. [2] The Historian.

Sarah Duchess of Marlborough to Hugh Earl of Marchmont[1].

Wednesday, One o'clock.

I am but just awake; and they bring me the melancholy message your Lordship sent me of poor Lord Marchmont, which, as he has been so long ill, I am not so much surprised at, as I am sorry; and I really think, in so disagreeable a world as this is, since the stroke must be given some time or other, when it is over, it is better for those that are gone, than for friends that remain after them. Your Lordship will remember, that I had a great mind once to have given you my legacy, which I had desired you to accept of at my death, in my lifetime, which, I thought, was not improper; but I found you did not like it, and, therefore, I dropped it; but now I hope, you will not take it ill, since I believe upon this sad occasion you may want money immediately, that I offer to send you a thousand pounds, which is half the legacy; and, if you please, you may call it so much money lent, to which I can see no manner of objection; and if it be of the least use to you, it will very much oblige me, who am, and ever shall be, with the greatest esteem imaginable,

Your Lordship's most faithful, and
Most humble servant,
S. MARLBOROUGH.

[1] This letter must have been written to Hugh Earl of Marchmont very soon after his father's death in February, 1740.

Mr. Pope to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

February 29th, 1740.

My Lord,

If God had not given this nation to perdition, he would not have removed from its service the men whose capacity and integrity alone could have saved it; but if you despaired of it before, you should the less regret your present situation, for I dare say, no vanity, but the sole view of doing good was your motive of action. You are reduced to philosophy, as Bolingbroke was before you; but you can animate, you can supply, you can better a better age than this, and prepare happier scenes for the coming generation. I will answer for it, the world will have you again, if ever the world grows worthy of you; and whenever Providence finds us to merit your help, it will put you in a capacity of helping us.

I wish to see you while I may. I am afraid of losing you, as I have lost those, whom I most wished to have lived with, and for. What hour shall I meet Dr. King to-morrow? It is only a modest periphrasis for asking, what hours you can allow to one who honours you truly.

Your Lordship's ever faithful, obliged servant,

A. Pope[1].

[1] Lord Marchmont having lost his father, had consequently gone out of the House of Commons; Pope by mistake directs this letter to him as Lord Polwarth.

The Duke of Montrose to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

Cley, March 7th, 1739-40.

My Lord,

It is with the most sensible concern, that I take leave from my heart to condole with your Lordship for the great loss you, our country, and all honest men have had by the death of your worthy father[1]. It is in vain to tell you, how much I was struck with the melancholy and unexpected news. Our long

[1] The following verses, addressed to Hugh Earl of Marchmont on his father's death, are found in a periodical work of that day.

TO THE EARL OF MARCHMONT, ON THE DEATH OF HIS FATHER.
BY A PERSON OF DISTINCTION.

Enough of tears! the pious son
Enough hath wept the honored sire.
Thy race of glory just begun,
'Twere more than impious to retire.
Then, spite of hard, unequal laws,
Rise in thy sinking country's cause.

Thrice happy youth, whose first essays,
Judicious, honest, warm, and bold,
In senates gain'd impartial praise,
Where conscience, honour, faith, were sold;
And strengthening truth, with graceful art,
Pour'd St. John's words from Cobham's heart.

Strange force of virtue thus exprest!
The guilty catch the sacred flame;
And truth and nature shine confest
Through adverse power, and pride, and shame.
Tyrants the potent influence own,
And villains screen'd behind the throne. Lo!

acquaintance, and the great value and respect I had for his person and character, sufficiently explain what I most feel on this occasion. The thoughts of this general loss brought me quickly to reflect upon another, which we sustain by the change of your situation, whereby your country is now deprived of the service it received from your zeal, and the valuable talents you are master of always employed in the cause of virtue. You belong now to the society I am of; an unhappy change! Since it is not in my power to say of my brethren what I might, I avoid saying anything of them. Alas! their character is too well known. There is still though some life in the root, which at some time may spring up to advantage, if ever virtue become fashionable. I am too old to hope to see that happy time.

I shall make no apology for troubling your Lordship with a letter at this time; you know the regard I had for good Lord Marchmont; and I flatter

Lo! where the lash'd offender stands
Aghast, with anger, fear, surprise!
And now he lifts his trembling hands;
And now he rolls his haggard eyes!
While all around the conscious tribe
Half wish away the tainting bribe.

Yet farther still, brave youth, proceed,
Still farther spread the patriot rage;
Heaven gave the power, and claims the deed;
Then write, and eternize thy page;
And, unconfin'd by time and place,
Exhort, and save a better race.

myself, you are persuaded of the real esteem I have for his successor. You shall always find me to be your faithful friend and servant. . . . . .

. . . . . .

I am, with great truth and respect,
My dear Lord, your most humble
And obedient servant,
MONTROSE.

Sarah Duchess of Marlborough to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

March 23d, 1740.

Though I understood you, that you would send me word, if the solicitor died, but I feared if I deferred writing, they might be engaged, and therefore I have writ to Mr. Cook, the copy of which I send you. And I have writ to Alderman Marshall a letter of the same sort. I wish, that everything that would be agreeable to you depended upon my single voice.

[Inclosure in the preceding Letter.]

Copy of the Duchess of Marlborough's Letter to Mr. Cook.

March 23d, 1740.

Sir,

I hear that the Solicitor-general, Mr. Strange, is given over by the doctors, who is counsel to the Bank; and believing you are not only my friend, but have the same inclination to do service to any person that is able and honest, I therefore earnestly desire of you, that you would recommend Mr. Hume, brother to the Earl of Marchmont, to be counsel to the Bank, if Mr. Strange dies. I have made use of him a great while. His father, the Earl of Marchmont, rather chose to be turned out of a great post in the government, than give a vote to the prejudice of the liberties of our country. I do not believe that there is now a man living that has more honour or capacity than the present Earl of Marchmont, or that is more esteemed by all men of sense than he is. The person I recommend to you, Mr. Hume, is his brother, who is a very good lawyer; and I never knew any man of any age, that applied himself more than he does to that study. You will oblige all the sensible and honest men that I know, if you can by your solicitation and friends make Mr. Hume counsel to the Bank, and particularly myself, who am, Sir, your most faithful and obliged

Humble servant,

S. Marlborough.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

June 13th, 1740.

I could not answer your Lordship's letter from Dover before that of the 16th May from London came to my hands, because I was taken ill, and confined for a week to my bed. I am got up again; the fever has left me, but some impression of the bilious disorder, that caused it, remains. When or how this letter will get to your hands, my dear Lord, I know not, since I suppose you actually in the North, where I am sorry to hear, that you are undetermined how long you shall stay. What I said to you on that subject does certainly deserve your consideration. Events may influence your plan of life a good deal; but in general do not abandon the habits and the friendships, such as they are, that you have contracted in England, nor lose sight of the great scenes of business, especially since you may be as philosophical there, as you could be in the most distant retreat. I thank you much for remembering the two books of Gibson, and the subscription for Thurloe's Papers. In helping me to improve the amusements I find in the woods, and in my closet, you help me to pass agreeably the latter part of a life, that has been for the most part scarce worth the living. I have begun to revise the metaphysical, or rather perhaps the antimetaphysical letters or essays, that I addressed to our

friend Pope some years ago, and that were nothing more than familiar extensions of a few thoughts, which seemed to me to render very plain, and to reduce into a small compass, certain matters that are called by the imposing name of the first philosophy[1]; that are supposed to be above vulgar comprehension; and that have been written upon most voluminously. I believe, I shall add one to the first plan, the subject of which will be an inquiry into the bounds of real knowledge, into the motives which have carried men in all ages to transgress them, and into the manner as well as consequences of transgressing them. If, in pursuing this subject, I should happen to differ a little from my Lord Bacon and Mr. Locke, those great masters of reason, I may be the more easily excused, because this difference will arise from that use, which they have taught me to make of my reason in the search of truth. The other task, that I have set myself, and which regards the history[2] of the first twelve or

[1] See Lord Bolingbroke's introductory letter to Alexander Pope, Esq., which precedes the Essays addressed to him.

[2] In order to assist a conjecture, how far Lord Bolingbroke in such a work might have done justice to men, to whom he had once placed himself in violent opposition, and hostility, there are subjoined two notes, which are written in Mr. Rose's copy of Coxe's 'Sir Robert Walpole.'

'Lord Bolingbroke, when speaking (to Lord Marchmont) of Lord Somers, 'to whom he was an inveterate political enemy, always said, there was in him 'the most extraordinary combination of abilities, integrity, and judgment, he 'had ever met with in the course of his life. In his opinion, often expressed, '"there never was a wiser or a better man than Lord Somers."'

'Lord Bolingbroke, to his death, never ceased to speak (to Lord March-'mont) with great delight of the pleasure he derived from the confidence, with

fourteen years of this century, will not be neglected, though I have been disappointed of many valuable materials, that I had in prospect. I shall go before the end of this month to pass some days with a friend I named to your Lordship, and from whom I expect to receive the accounts he has drawn up of some transactions, that will cast a great light on the whole history of this period. If I have life and health, I will procure myself more leisure, than I have yet had even in this retreat, and shall be able consequently to put into the hands of my friends, to be disposed of as they shall think proper, memorials that will be full, clear, and indisputably authentic concerning the most important passages from the Treaties of Partition to that of Utrecht inclusively. Thus, my Lord, though out of the world, I may be of some use to it; and that is more than the greatest part of those, who figure in it at this time, can boast of. I must desire your Lordship, if you see the Earl of Stair, as I suppose you will during your residence in the North, to renew to him the assurances of that well-founded esteem and affection, which I bear him, and which are sentiments that will accompany me to the grave; for I am in the style of truth, and not of compliment, his faithful servant. I meant the greatest service, a much greater than I could do any other way to my country, when I

'which he was treated by the Duke of Marlborough, while he was Secretary at 'War; and always mentioned him as a man of consummate talents in his 'profession, regardless of small objects, when important ones were in view.'

solicited your Lordship to employ your excellent talents as you have employed them; and I do assure you, that I never regretted half so much the period of my public life, as I have done and still do that of yours. Adieu, my dear and honored Lord; contrive how I may sometimes hear from you. *Vale, et me tui amantis simum ama.*

Mr. Pope to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

June 22d[1], [1740.]

My Lord,

The more I wish to be remembered by you, the less I feel myself able to deserve your regard, and the more faint will my expressions be, as the sense is strong of that inability; but above all times, I am at this least disposed to speak what I feel, and still more unwilling to add to your concern, which, I know, is greater than that of any man less honest and less a lover of his country can possibly be, and therefore greater than almost any man's whatsoever; yet may one miserable comfort be denied to you, even from the loss of Sir William Wyndham, that your own seclusion from public business will be mitigated by the thought, what an assistant you must

[1] This letter must have been written in June, 1740, soon after Sir William Wyndham's death.

now have wanted, had you continued in it, and that there is no man left worthy to draw with, if you consider him entire, head and heart. For the same ability without the same spirit, strength without union, drawing ever so powerfully without drawing all one way, are either to no purpose, or a bad one. The only one fit to work with you is gone, and you must have tugged by yourself, where no single force can prevail, no single virtue animate. Two props may support one another; but one prop cannot stand by itself. You could only have laid down, and seen the state (if it should change its supporters) come to lean upon *two* as *bad legs* as carry the present minister. I do not know now whose life or death to wish for; I know whose death I should have wished some years ago, to have prevented the mischiefs that are now remediless, and whose lives, to have enjoyed better times; but in certain situations it is happier for honest men to die than live, and in some times fitter that knaves should govern, to stand charged with the infamy of them to posterity. God Almighty certainly knows what he does, when he removes those from us, whose lives we pray for, and leaves behind those scourges, which a mercenary people deserve, though the partiality of a few virtuous or brave men (who happen to be born among them) would save them. We do not live, my Lord, under the Jewish dispensation, nor are to imagine the most dirty, rascally race on earth are the favorite people of God. You know,

when they were so, after they had provoked him enough, he punished them with an absolute king; he has done as much to all Europe of late days; and if Britain should be the only corner left still free, do you think it will not be more his goodness than our merit? I would willingly turn to any subject from that, which not only extremely afflicts me, but those two men in the world whom I most esteem; I mean the man who led, and the man who seconded the great and worthy person we have lost. In all the steps he made of late, when the true interest and honor of his country became his only passion, his judgment was determined by the one, and his action by the other: with the one he could not have erred, with the other he could not have cooled, in any generous purpose; and it is not the world, or the party, that I condole with on this death, but those two, who feel for the public, what it feels not for itself, and what party-men but pretend to feel. If I see any man merry within a week after this death, I will affirm him no patriot; and such I have seen, who might at least have seemed more concerned, since they can be hot without principle, passionate without affection, and eloquent without sensation.

It would anger a warm or a tender heart so much, to see the conduct of the world on all the most important or affecting occasions, that one would be tempted to wish every such thinking or feeling man retired from it. I, who have really no other, or no

equal merit to that of loving and pursuing merit in and through others, do sincerely wish myself in Scotland, or the forests, contemplating some *one good mind*, preferably to the melancholy study of the world, or reading the very worst sort of books, men, and manners. The very gazetteer is more innocent, and better bred. When he abuses the brave, or insults the dead, he lays the fault another day upon his *printer;* but our great men and patriots cannot so much as lay their brutalities and ill-breeding upon their *porters* and *footmen;* they hate honor openly, and pray devoutly for the removal of all virtue. Their prayers have been pretty well heard; and when one or two more are gone, the nation will be much of a piece. I could then be glad to travel, and I could be more glad, if your Lordship would travel. You may perhaps think it less merit to travel from Scotland than from Twitnam; but consider, here is a camp close by, in whose neighbourhood Minerva cannot dwell, though no Mars be there. I am seriously desirous to run from my country, if you will run from yours, and study popery and slavery abroad awhile, to reconcile ourselves to the church and state we may find at home on our return.

Pray, my Lord, do not think I can forget you, nor on that imagination use me, as if I could, by not putting me in mind of you. Whether you take any notice of me or not, I shall never see any good or any evil happen to this country, but I shall imme-

diately ask myself the question,—how will it please or displease Lord Marchmont? and I shall set my own mind by that, either to be glad or sorry. May every domestic happiness attend you, and resignation and expectation mend whatever is amiss, and palliate whatever is incurable as to the public. Believe no man more your mindful servant than I; but Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Lyttelton bid me tell you, they will dispute it with me.

The Earl of Chesterfield to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Tuesday[1].

My dear Lord,

I share the marks of your friendship to Mr. Pitt, looking upon everything that concerns him as personal to myself. I have not yet had an opportunity of speaking to him upon that subject, and when I have, shall break it gently, knowing his delicacy; but in the mean time, pray encourage her Grace in so right and generous a resolution. You shall soon be troubled with a letter or a visit from me upon this matter; in the mean time, I can

[1] This letter has no date, but must have been written after the death of Alexander Earl of Marchmont to his son and successor, who succeeded him as executor to Sarah Duchess of Marlborough. The resolution referred to must be her Grace's, to make a considerable bequest to Mr. Pitt, which she executed in the manner known.

assure you, I want nobody's recommendation to continue those sentiments of esteem and friendship with which I have so long been, and ever shall be most faithfully, your, &c.

CHESTERFIELD.

John Duke of Argyle to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Caroline Park, July 2d[1].

My Lord,

I am very glad Mr. Hume Campbell has taken the resolution of offering his service again to the county[2]; his independent behaviour, and the great honor your Lordship has most justly acquired by your noble and able conduct in Parliament, I should think, cannot fail of procuring him that success, which is most heartily wished him by

Your Lordship's most obedient, and
Most faithful, humble servant,
ARGYLE and GREENWICH.

[1] This letter must have been written in 1740, with reference to the approaching general election of 1741, when the dissolution was in April, and the new Parliament summoned to meet in June.

[2] Of Berwick, for which Mr. Hume Campbell was re-elected in 1741.

Mr. Pope to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

My Lord,

I know you as incapable of neglecting a man you think well of, as a cause you think well of; and therefore I will always be so happy as to believe myself in your memory, while I continue in the same sentiments and conduct, which alone could ever make me deserving in any degree of your friendship. And that you can be forgot or neglected by any honest man, is as impossible, as that he should renounce virtue itself, or the cause for which he esteems you. If you knew the manner in which every one, you desire to be regarded by, expresses himself in your regard—both those who act in public, and those who would live with you in private life—your Lordship would not stay in Scotland a day longer than your necessary affairs require. There can be nothing where you are, to justify your absenting yourself from them; and I will consent, that you shall remain there as long as you find the Scots more honest and more honourable than the English. I think the time of your quitting them (upon those terms) must happen a little after my Lord I——y's[1] arrival. But for God's sake, my Lord, how much soever you may despair of any public virtue, are you to renounce the enjoyments of as much private, as can be had in this

[1] Islay's.

age? If you cannot exercise with success your endeavors for your country, are you to give up the only comforts left a worthy man in that circumstance, the presence of those of the same heart, who, if they cannot assist, will attend, will protest, will bear testimony to truth and honor, and if those two are to die in this nation, will see them decently interred, and join to weep over their graves. Is there *no duty left* after you have discharged the last to your country? No friends? No family? No posterity? Are there no *Suppeditamenta Philosophica* to sweeten the life of a man, whose conscience is clear, and makes (nay of its own nature must make in spite of all clouds in the lower region) a heaven within, a situation preferable to all worldly glory, all human admiration or approbation? and above all which we call the greatest? All this, my Lord, remains still to you. These duties and these pleasures call upon you; if you enjoy and pursue them here amid the sphere of ambition and vice, you will render them greater, enhance them and invigorate them by the opposition you will cause them to make in some instances, and by the example you will become of their contraries in all. Your spirits cannot sink, your talents cannot languish nor continue unexerted, while such provocations are around you. Whereas, heaping earth over your head, and rusting into study, you will be—what shall I say? You will be—still no doubt an honest man, but no better than Lord C.

You will very much wrong the candour, that is natural to great geniuses, if you make the least doubt of Lord B———'s[1] professions of friendship. He wrote to me upon this lamented death: *Multis fortunæ vulneribus percussus, huic uni se imparem sensit.*

Yet it is no untruth I tell you, that more was said in his letter of you, than of him. I will transcribe only a paragraph or two. He no sooner mentions that loss, but he adds,—'What a star has our 'minister? Wyndham dead—Marchmont disabled!' 'The loss of Marchmont and Wyndham to our 'country!' 'I take for granted, that you have a 'correspondence with Lord Marchmont. I writ to 'him the other day; but do you write to him. I 'wish the event of Wyndham's death may not de-'termine him to settle in Scotland! God forbid! 'Do not fail, when you write, to tell him how much 'I honor his virtue and his talents, and love his 'person. He, and you, and I, are by different 'causes in much the same situation; lovers of our 'country; grieved at her present state; and unable 'to help her. I too have been ill—not yet reco-'vered—wounded afresh; yet I will try to live, and 'renew a fund of health that may last some little 'time longer, and be more usefully employed abroad, 'than my last ten years were at home.' But after all this he declares 'himself ready to return, 'on the first probable occasion, to do any service.

[1] Bolingbroke's.

Pray, my Lord, make this an example. For my part, I am so elevated in my own opinion by his adding me in the triumvirate, that I am the better in my heart for it, though no way else. I feel an ardent desire to be worthy to be joined to you, though but for an impotent wish, not any ability, to do good. That must be my case for ever; but you and he cannot be impotent or useless, if God shall please to save us. Unless it be his will to give us to destruction, you must be instruments of our safety; and till you can be so, your example, your exhortation will operate with the good, and cast shame upon the bad. This is the least you may do; to keep virtue and honor alive in the breasts of many young men, who are to give them on to posterity; and to dash the forehead, and shake the soul of guilty wretches, who else would entail their profligacy on all future generations. Come then, my Lord, to those who love and want you; appear among those who fear, who hate, and yet respect you; make the noblest of figures, independent among slaves, and amiable with great talents; the fruit and exercise of which, if you are deprived of at present, it may make you less *envied*, but cannot make you less *esteemed*, either by friend or enemy. It may ease you of a pain,—that of attending when you can do no service, but cannot take from you a reputation, which you have for what you have done, and for what the world will think you would have done[1].

[1] This letter was evidently written not long after Sir William Wyndham's death in 1740, and probably within a few weeks after the preceding letter.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Argeville, Aug. 8th, 1740 [1].

God knows who is to go next, my Lord; but this I know, that every wise and good man will wear out his years in private life, unanxious about to-morrow, and that he will think and act in public life, as if his country and he were to be immortal together. My health, for which you express so kind a concern, begins to be good again, after having been long bad, or at best, uncertain; when I call it good, I mean, that it is good enough for me, good enough for a man, who is soon to enter on his climacterical year, good enough for one, the hurry and ferment of whose passions are over; good enough in short for one, who lives absent from his friends, and useless to his country. The life I have still to come, *si quid superesse volunt Dii*, would have been better bestowed if it could have served to lengthen out that of our late friend. I can contribute nothing, my dear Marchmont,—thus I used to speak to Wyndham,—thus let me speak to you — I can contribute nothing to alleviate your grief, unless mingling my tears with yours can contribute to it; I feel the whole weight of it; I am pleased to feel it; I should despise myself if I felt it less. We are men; and time will have its effects on our pains, as

[1] This letter is written on the death of Sir William Wyndham.

it has on our pleasures, for this is a mechanical effect; but all the philosophy of the Portic could not produce the same in you or me. We have sentiments, affections, passions, as well as reason; and we leave them to govern in their several provinces. How impertinent is it to combat grief with syllogism! and how little need has that mind of consolation, who can find it in philosophical lectures! but your grief and mine are nourished and strengthened by every reasonable reflection. We lament our own loss, but we lament that of our country too. What regret can be too great for the loss of a friend, whom we should have regretted even if he had been our enemy? You see, my dear Lord, that neither my philosophy, nor the habit of receiving misfortunes, as you call it, makes me resist, or attempt to resist the affliction I am under. I wish you was here, with all my soul; but if you was, my example would teach you nothing more than what you know and practise already, to give such demonstrations alone of the greatest grief as are manly, none that are womanish; such appearances as are compatible with the utmost strength of mind, none that are tokens of its impotency, to use a classical word. Whether the Supreme Being governs the moral and physical worlds by general laws, as I find most reason to believe, for this is matter of opinion only, or by particular providences, resignation to his government is our duty most certainly; and wherever we are concerned as individuals, I mean, wher-

ever the accidents of life or that of death fall on us alone, I think, we should practise, as far as the frailty of our nature permits, the lesson contained in the hymn of Cleanthes; we should follow cheerfully, what we must follow necessarily, the order and disposition of Providence; but in all cases we should follow it without murmuring; and this may be done by him who feels his loss, and who even indulges his grief the most. Your reflections on all that theological cant, which is employed on great and national events, nay on minute private family events, when the use of them or these serves the turn of the doctor, are just. The honest country parson will advance, that Wyndham's death in this critical conjuncture is a stroke of that scourge of God, which is lifted up to punish a corrupt and profligate people. He will see the hand of God in it; so will a bishop too, if he waits for a translation; but then he will add this to a long catalogue of other providences, by which the Supreme Being has conducted Robin and Horace Walpole into absolute power, and maintained them in it. All this, my Lord, is blasphemous, and not to be heard without horror by every man, who has thought himself into religion[1]. I hope, you will see one day or other

[1] As the posthumous disclosure of Lord Bolingbroke's inveterate hostility to Christianity lays open to the view as well the bitterness as the extent of it, so the manner of that disclosure precludes any doubt of the earnestness of his desire to give the utmost efficiency and publicity to that hostility, as soon as it could safely be done; that is, as soon as death should shield him against responsibility to man. But it is due to the character of those, who lived in

some essays, that vindicate reason against philosophy, religion against divinity, and God against man; and I flatter myself, that on all these subjects they will give you some satisfaction by what they

intimacy with him, and whose mistrust of his candor, and of the truth of his declarations, had not been excited by that complete knowledge of his rejection of revelation which we possess, to consider for a moment whether, if they allowed themselves, or were induced to doubt of the sincerity of such professions of religious belief as he made public in his lifetime, or as he made to them, they had just grounds to hold him to be one of those who endeavor to subvert in the hearts and minds of others that faith in which they do not participate.

The fulness and explicitness of his declarations or acknowledgments of belief in revealed religion may easily be questioned; he avowedly rejects the interpretations and expositions of it which its ministers have delivered to us. But he frequently holds language, which distinctly implies such a belief. Thus, in his introductory letter to Pope, he says, that 'The fathers, ancient and modern, 'in councils and out of them, have raised that immense system of artificial 'theology, by which genuine Christianity is perverted, and in which it is lost.' He says again in the same letter, 'We say that the Scriptures, concerning 'the divine authenticity of which all the professors of Christianity agree, are 'the sole criterion of Christianity;' and he reasons at much length with Pope in that letter in favour of the interpretation of the Scriptures by the Scriptures themselves, in opposition to all interpretation of them by a church, by fathers, and councils, or by tradition except in certain cases. In his letter to Dr. Swift of the 12th September, 1724, he says, 'Since the truth of the Divine 'revelation of Christianity is as evident, as matters of fact, on the belief of 'which so much depends, ought to be, and agreeable to all justice,' &c.

Now, if his friends, in despite of these and the like expressions, were incredulous respecting his participation in Christianity, or doubtful of it, at the least they must have seen in them the proofs of his desire to be supposed to have acknowledged it, at the very least of his wish to escape the suspicion of being considered an enemy to it. But they were not left to inferences only on this point. He launched his loudest thunders at the heads of the professors of infidelity. The letter last quoted contains the following passage: 'I must, on 'this occasion, set you right as to an opinion which I should be very sorry to 'have you entertain concerning me. The term *esprit fort*, in English free-'thinker, is, according to my observation, usually applied to them, whom I 'look upon to be the pests of society, because their endeavours are directed to

contain, and more by what they suggest. The mention of these essays puts me in mind of some miscellaneous writings, that I shall leave behind me, if I live a little longer, and enjoy a little health. The principal parts of them will be historical; and these I intended to address to Wyndham; permit me to address the whole to you. I shall finish them up with more spirit, and with greater pleasure, when I think that, if they carry to posterity any memorials of my weakness, as an actor or a writer, they will carry thither a character of me, that I prefer to both, the character of Wyndham's and Marchmont's friend.

'loosen the bands of it, and to take at least one curb out of the mouth of that 'wild beast, man, when it would be well if he was checked by half a score 'others. Nay, they go farther,' &c. . . . . 'I therefore not 'only disown, but detest this character.'

Lord Bolingbroke took care not to appear as an apostle of irreligion whilst living, because he was well aware how highly prejudicial the assumption of that character would have been to those projects of ambition, which he never ceased to cherish, however delusive and tormenting; and because he knew the penalty he must pay for it in the estimation of the distinguished persons, whose friendship he enjoyed. But as the hour was to arrive, when these prudential considerations would cease to have force, he combined with much ingenuity the certain means of perpetrating after his death his great act of rebellion against heaven, and of high treason against society. And he did it unrestrained by the knowledge of the abhorrence to which he committed his memory, for with his dying hand he did that desperate and atrocious deed, which his living hand had branded as detestable; and he so acted without having even the excuse of the mad despair of the vanquished frantic corsair, who at least perishes himself in the explosion he creates, whilst it annihilates his foes and his comrades. He had had enough of old age to sober him—enough of infirmities to chasten him—enough of disappointments and punishments to humble him. He had moreover, at least upon his lips, enough of philosophy to have ennobled his feelings, if hers be the renovating principle of our hearts, and to have cleared his mental sight, if her lamp be the light of life and immortality.

I write to Pope by the same conveyance, by which I send this letter; and I hope it will get safely to your hands by his care, and that of Brinsden, who is the most attentive and the most faithful of men. I conjure you, my Lord, let our correspondence be as frequent, as the insolence and meanness of those who have power in Britain will permit. We shall find ways to make it still more frequent; we shall find ways to meet perhaps without too much inconveniency to you; and if we have no reason to rejoice on any other account, we shall be happy at least in the free communication of our thoughts and sentiments to one another, the sweets of which can be only found in the intimacy of a virtuous friendship. Heaven protect you and yours.

Sarah Duchess of Marlborough to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Wimbledon, Aug. 29th, 1740.

I have received the favor of your Lordship's of the 16th of August; but I did not write to you before, for the same reasons you give for not writing to me; and besides, I am very sure you know more than I do, and can judge much better whether there be any hopes of saving the nation from entire ruin. For my own part, I think if we do escape, it must

be from some miracle that I do not see into, though I am thoroughly convinced that it might be done, if all people would join heartily together who have anything left to support themselves. It is plainly their interest to do it, though they had not one grain of honesty. Nay, even those wretches who, without wanting, have assisted in doing so much mischief, if they had but common sense, might see a very little more will make them so useless, that 6, or any body else that 4 likes, will use them as ill as they did 11, &c. But that need not trouble anybody, if they were not to suffer with them. I really believe 14 has not been so much dissatisfied upon any change that has happened, as at this time; but I cannot yet comprehend what good that will do, if 32 and 33 continue to have such a passion for 13. And that 3 and 4 will find ways to please him, whatever 14 suffers. There is a great talk all over the town that his Majesty is mightily in love with the Prince[1] of Hesse's sister; and it is said, she is extremely handsome, and about seventeen; and some people believe, we shall soon have a Queen. And as the Princess of Wales is ready to lie in, we need not apprehend having an increase of Princesses every year, at least two, so that we shall never want heirs to the crown; nor they will never want good provisions, as long as they have a House of Lords and Commons that have been so liberal, and that are so

[1] Prince Frederick of Hesse, son of the Landgrave, was married, in May, 1740, to Princess Mary, daughter to George the Second.

sensible, as they seem to be, of the great advantages they have received by the generosity and wisdom of 4. As I have a great esteem for 32 and 33, I can have no apprehension but that 14 may not be able to reward all the figures above according to their merit. If it were possible to have all done, that I wish, nobody should go unrewarded that deserves, nor should any one have an employment that did not understand what the business of it was. But Sir Robert seems quite of another opinion, and never likes any but fools, and such as have lost all credit. As to what happens to the sea affairs, I know no more for certain than you see in the prints. But I cannot but think it looks ill, that so many delays are made in Sir John Norris's[1] going out, and that he is still very near England. Perhaps this management may have been to let the Spaniards get out their fleet from Ferrol. I was told by a lawyer of credit, that 5 sent common brokers about to borrow money, and that at a vast interest, but I believe without success. I am sure I should not think it a good security, if he were in possession of all he can ever have. I hear many people in these parts are making interest for elections a year hence; and, as I have several agents to look after my estates, I am writing perpetually to engage as many as they can, besides tenants, to vote against pen-

[1] An accident and foul winds detained Sir John Norris in Torbay, whilst the Spanish squadron sailed from Ferrol for America; his object being to intercept it, when its departure was learnt, this design was given up.

sioners and placemen, in order to save, if possible, the last stake. I hear, that Sir Robert says, it is better to buy the members after they are in the House, than to trouble himself about them before. But I believe, he will take all ways to save himself, since whatever it costs, it will be out of the public money. I was told by a sea-captain, that 400 officers at half-pay have offered themselves to serve in the new-raised soldiers; but they were all refused, and others taken that were both ignorant and poor; that is, tradesmen and ordinary people that are ruined, so far as to have only a little money to give, to be taken by such as have influence, and are made use of by 3. I find, that the soldiers are very weary of the expence and attendance at the camp[1], which, besides their own money out of pocket, will cost the public a great deal more, for the soldiers must have more allowance from the dearness of things. There is a great deal on that subject would make any body merry, but I will only repeat one. Every night at a certain hour a gun is fired off. I do not know the terms on this subject so well as to describe it properly, but I imagine, that it is to give the men some notice that they are safe, and may take their rest, finding they cannot be disturbed either by the French or Spaniards. I think the refusing the half-pay officers a most horrid thing. First, it is a great injustice to men that have done

[1] This probably refers to an encampment on the coast of Essex, from whence the troops were afterwards sent to Flanders.

service; and next, in creating a great expence to the public by giving whole-pay to those that know nothing, and half-pay to those that are not employed, and who ought to have whole-pay, and do their country service. You will observe, that if we have another Queen, there will be 200,000*l.* a-year in jointures. And what is necessary to settle on the Duke's[1] wife, and all the rest of the Royal family, will come to pretty near as much as Queen Anne's civil list brought her in, who left no charge upon the nation, but 80,000*l.* in arrears, over and above what would satisfy every demand on her. And when she came to the crown, and had only 50,000*l.* a-year, she did not owe a shilling, but had a considerable balance in her own hands, which Prince George had as her husband. This may be interpreted by some, as if I was finding fault with our present governors, for they are all facts that I know to be true. But when it is considered the vast advantages we have gained abroad, the strictness that has been observed in the laws at home, and how well all the money has been disposed of, there is no doubt but that 3 and 4 can explain things so well as to give entire satisfaction. I desire you would present my humble service to 10, who I do not write to, because I have really nothing to say that he does not know; and for the same reason I must beg your pardon for so long and insignificant

[1] The Duke of Cumberland is meant here, but he was not married.

a letter, which, when I had begun, I could not resist writing on more than I at first intended; and as you know who it comes from by the figures, I need not use the ceremony of writing my name. I reckon that if 32 and 33 should ever be right, they will both join soon after, and then 11 must be in the circumstances I wish him. But if nothing happens that is good, 10 and 11 must make themselves so by being strict philosophers. My sincere humble service to Lady Marchmont[1].

DECYPHER.

1. Lord Carteret
2. Lord Chancellor
3. Sir Robert Walpole
4. The King
5. The Prince of Wales
6. Sir William Wyndham
7. The Duke of Newcastle
8. The Duke of Marlborough
9. The Dowager Duchess of Marlborough
10. Lord Stair
11. Lord Marchmont
12. The Duke of Argyle
13. Money
14. England
15. Scotland
16. France
17. Cardinal Fleury
18. Lady Yarmouth
19. Ireland
20. Mr. Littelton
21. Horace Walpole
22. Lord Chesterfield
23. Lord Harrington
24. Mr. Pulteney
25. Mr. Pelham
26. Lord Islay
27. Mr. Pitt
28. Lady Gower
29. Lord Bathurst
30. Duke of Bedford
31. Duke of Somerset
32. House of Lords
33. House of Commons.

[1] The decypher is given separately, as, had the figures been decyphered, the character of the letter would have been materially altered.

The Earl of Chesterfield to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

London, Sept. 6th, 1740.

My dear Lord,

As I am persuaded that you are convinced of the truth of my regard and friendship for you, I look upon myself as authorised to give you this trouble, without any further excuse for it. The sincere part, I take in every thing that relates to you, has made me hear with the utmost concern of your uneasiness, not to say despondency, at the two[1] misfortunes, which so soon after one another concurred to affect not only you, but your friends, and all the friends to the public. Your grief, I own, is just; I feel it with you; but give me leave to say your despair would be blameable, and would be adding another misfortune to the former little less sensible to your friends or your country.

I know, I am an improper instrument of comfort to you upon this occasion, since I cannot think of our late friend without too much grief of my own to be able to lessen yours. I have lost a friend, whom I could equally depend upon, both in public and in private life; one who by his directions and advice supplied my want of knowledge and ex-

[1] The death of Alexander Earl of Marchmont, his father, and the death of Sir William Wyndham.

perience, and to whose honest heart I could without reserve open my own. How much the public has lost, I need not, I cannot say; but that very consideration ought to prevail with all those who are friends, and particularly with all those who, like you, can be useful friends to it, not to forsake the care of it. The more you, and our late friend, are missed, in the House of Commons particularly, the more your assistance is wanted out of it; and would you, by withdrawing yourself from business, add to the joy of those who have shamelessly rejoiced at the cause of our grief? There are some friends of yours, who think and wish as you do, but who, without your assistance and advice, can be at best but inefficient well wishers, though with it, they may be able to check, or disturb at least, the dirty mercenary schemes of pretended patriots or avowed profligates; for my own part I protest to you, that without your assistance and instructions I shall give myself no manner of trouble, because I know, it would be to no manner of purpose. I do not mean to compliment you; I hope and believe, you do not suspect me of it; where compliments are deserved, they lose their odious name by becoming truths; and where they are not deserved, I scorn to give them; therefore, my dear Lord, believe it as a truth, that your presence, and your taking a part in business, is absolutely necessary towards doing any good; and as such, give me leave to add, that it is a moral and necessary duty incumbent upon you,

and from which no private consideration can dispense you. If you ask me, what prospect, or what possibility there is of doing any good, I must answer, in truth very little prospect, but still a possibility. The chapter of accidents at least is open; and even death, which has hitherto been very partial, may at last prove just. Events, however remote or improbable, are to be attended to; and it is in some degree criminal to withdraw one's self from the possibility of improving them.

I ask pardon for troubling you with these reflections, which your own good head and heart must have better suggested to you, if your grief had given them leave; let me only add this interested request of my own, to that I have already made you for the public, which is, that I may have some share of that friendship, which you so justly gave entire to our late friend. I am sensible, how little my sincere attachment and regard for you can replace his; but believe me, my dear Lord, it is as real; and I am, as much as man can be,

Your most faithful, humble servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

The Earl of Stair to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

New Liston, Nov. 2d, 1740.

My Lord,

I send your Lordship my letters open to Earl Chesterfield and Lord Cobham, which your Lordship will be pleased to seal and deliver. In those letters you will see what I have to say of public affairs at home and abroad.

Your Lordship is going to a scene very intricate, which, I am afraid, will prove a disagreeable one. I am sure, there is no good to be done without getting the better of Sir Robert suddenly. I wish things may come out much better than I expect; I shall be very glad to hear of it. I know your Lordship will advise, in whatever is to be done for our country, with the Dukes of Queensberry and Montrose, whose servant I am most faithfully.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

November 30th, 1740.

Yours, my dearest Lord, of the 24th of September, is but just come to my hands; it is cruel to have so difficult, uncertain, and slow correspondence

with one with whom I would correspond every day, that I am absent from him. But in every circumstance of life the influence of my unlucky star has a part. You make a reflection in your letter that I have often made for you. I may say to fortune what somebody or other said to one of the Roman tyrants, *I fear thee not, I am old.* But you have had the severest trials at your very entrance into the world; and, what is the severest of them all to a heart as warm as yours with virtue, you are cut off from the hopes of doing all the good you would do, and might have done, during a long course of years. The trials, I have had, came upon me much later in life, much later at least in public life; and I gave pretence and colour for the last part of them, which is not your case, by a start of passion into rash[1] and precipitate engagements. I hear by a friend, that you are expected about this time at London; and this piece of news, for which your

[1] 'Lord Bolingbroke denied to the Earl of Marchmont, with whom he lived 'during the latter part of his life in the closest intimacy and strictest confi- 'dence, occasionally in the same house both in France and at Battersea, that 'he had the remotest intention of favoring the succession of the Pretender, 'until the approach of the Queen's death, when it was under deliberation to 'secure the power and safety of the ministers. He mentioned an anecdote to 'Lord Marchmont respecting the Abbé Gualtier, who, having had a confer- 'ence with Lord Bolingbroke during the negociations for peace, left on his 'Lordship's table in his office at Whitehall, when he went away, a letter ad- 'dressed to him. Lord Bolingbroke, observing it to be sealed with the arms 'of England, ordered the Abbé to be called back; and on his acknowledging 'it to be from the Pretender, Lord Bolingbroke desired him to take it away, 'and assured him, if he should make any other attempt of the sort, he should 'not remain in England twenty-four hours after it.' From a note in Mr. Rose's handwriting in his copy of Coxe's 'Sir Robert Walpole.'

letter prepared me, gives me pleasure. You will not do much good; but you may do some. Your cool, disinterested, and solid reflections on the present conjuncture, all the particulars of which you are able, as few others are, to combine, may give a better direction to the councils of those who do act, where your Lordship cannot. It is impossible to speak fully and plain on this subject in a letter; thus much however I will say; as the war is, and will be conducted, it is presumption to hope, even that Spain should be forced to give you real satisfaction for past injuries, and real security against future invasions of the liberty of navigation. How much greater presumption then must it be to hope, that you shall compass such ends, as I see proposed in certain declarations? To this national reason let me add a party reason. If your minister by silly and knavish conduct fails in the first, and betrays the national interest, on which the quarrel broke out in war, as it is evident he did in negociation, will not those, who oppose him, and those, who hope to succeed him, have a much fairer chance, than if he fails in the last? I think it plainly the interest of the nation, as well as of the opposing party, to maintain views in the war as simple as the motives to it were, and as plainly the interest of the minister to complicate these views as much as possible. I think as you about the consequence of that spirit, which is raised in your part of the kingdom particularly. The spirit in the other part deserves scarce to be mentioned. All the spirits, that

go abroad at this time, are, I fear, frivolous or impure. Let me tell you, what I met with not long ago; a man, who has sold himself to your minister, and who made other professions formerly, fell in my way. I thought, I had some right to expostulate a little with him; and happening to speak respectfully of the constitution of the British government, he interrupted me by saying, he should be sorry it was preserved; that it was a very bad one, and Harrington's system a much better. You will believe, I reasoned no further with this profound person. I only asked him with some disdain, whether he imagined, that supporting habitual corruption, and the tyranny of a minister and a faction, were necessary preliminaries to his *Oceana?* I mention this only to shew you, what wild notions are propagated among the unthinking crew, that come upon the stage in these times. I have desired, that your brother and Mr. Murray might be consulted about the situations, I may find myself in, according to the different contingent events that may happen. It will be of great expense and inconveniency to me to be obliged to remove out of this hermitage; but if this must be, or I must remain exposed to the mercy of those, whose mercies are cruel, my resolution will be soon taken. The woman of this house desires your Lordship to receive her humble thanks, and to rank her among your most faithful servants. Shall I finish my letter to you in the usual style? I cannot. Formality and compliment

express but ill what I feel for you, my Lord, whom I esteem, and honor, and love, with the greatest reason and the warmest affection.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

March 17th, 1741.

Your Lordship will find a postscript to yourself in a letter I writ two days ago to Mr. Chetwynd[1]; but it did not come into my thoughts then to ask you two questions, which I want to have resolved, and which, informed as you are, will not, I hope, give you much trouble to resolve; at least I should be sorry, my dear Lord, if they did. The first is, whether any laws in force in the year 1711 made it criminal for any person whatsoever, or however authorised, to treat with any foreign state, in which the Pretender resided? The other is, what the real expence of Great Britain was in that year, 1711; what the funds to support it; what their produce; and what the produce of those given in 1712 and 1713; to which if you add a gross estimate of the national expences in the first two or three years of the late king, I shall have all the information I stand in need of having at present. And if hereafter I should have occasion of more, I shall de-

[1] Probably William Chetwynd, brother to Lord Chetwynd, and with him member for Stafford in the parliament of 1741. He was made Master-worker of the Mint on the formation of the Broad-bottom Administration in 1744.

pend on you for it. When one has as little to say, and when one can speak with as little effect, as I can, it is not worth while to contemplate so melancholy a scene, as our country presents at this time to every man, who has a concern for the interest and honor of it. I shall therefore pass it over in silence; and the rather because though the public circumstances of the events, that happen, enable me to guess at the private workings, dispositions, and designs, yet I can only guess. My situation this year will depend on my Lord St. John's[1] health, and a rupture or no rupture between France and you. I incline to think, that neither one nor the other of these contingencies will turn so as to oblige me to remove from hence. Should it prove otherwise, the chief comfort I could have in approaching Britain, would be the reflection, that I approached you. Adieu, my dear Lord. *Me tui amantissimum ama.*

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

March 26th, 1741.

Sir John Cotton's son, who is now here, and who sets out soon for your despicable and despised country, gives me a safe opportunity of answering your Lordship's letter of the 17th of February. The

[1] The Viscount St. John died in April, 1742.

conduct of the Tories is silly, infamous, and void of any colour of excuse[1]; and yet the truth is, that the behavior and language of some of those who complain, I dare say very loudly, on this occasion, has prepared it, and given Shippen, who disliked the coalition from the first, as much as Walpole, a pretence to make his fools break it. What shall I say, my dear Lord? Laugh I cannot; and my heart is already so full of indignation and grief, that there is scarce room for more. You may, and I hope, you will live, to see better men and better days; for the first alone can procure the last; nothing else has been wanting these many years. I do not expect, I scarce desire, to live much longer; and if I did, an ideal prospect would but ill support the spirits of an old man, were it never so bright and gay, whilst he had as gloomy and melancholy a scene, as the present is, under his eyes. There remains, I think, but one part for me to take, in order to wear out the fragment of life with tranquillity; and that is, to divert my thoughts from present and recent events, by applying them to those of former times, that, if they were not much better, affect me at this time much less; or else, by applying them wholly, which

[1] Mr. Sandys on the 13th February 1741 moved to address the King to remove Sir Robert Walpole. Many of the Tories went away; many voted against the question. Shippen, the head of the Jacobites, withdrew followed by thirty-four of his friends. One hundred and six only voted for, but two hundred and ninety against the question. Shippen was incorruptible by money. He appears to have acted in this matter under the sense of an old obligation to render Sir Robert Walpole a personal service on an emergency immediately affecting him.

eases me and pleases me most, to those abstract meditations, whose objects are generals, and not particulars. The reflection you make concerning our departed friend, renews all the bitterness of sorrow, that I felt when we lost him. He did not expect, any more than I have long done, to render this generation of Tories of much good use to their country; and, though he came to it late, he came at last to have as bad opinions of Shippen, as you see the man deserves. But still, if he had lived, he would have hindered these strange creatures,—I can hardly call them men,—from doing all the mischief they have lately done, and will perhaps continue to do. . . . . .

. . . . . .

To conclude my letter by answering the conclusion of yours, I can do nothing but wish well for my country; you can do little more at present; but you may do much hereafter; and when you can, I know you will. May God preserve you, among other good purposes, for that purpose; and he will preserve you for it, if particular providences are admitted in the system of his general providence. Our countrymen do not deserve the liberty they sell, or sacrifice to their humor; but surely there could not be picked out of the whole British nation a set of men less worthy to domineer over them, than those that do so.

The woman of this house desires your Lordship to receive the assurances of her sincere respects.

Mr. Pope to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

My Lord,

Since I saw you, I have an appointment from Lord Cobham to dine at Twitnam on Tuesday next. He is to ask the Duke of Argyle[1] to meet him there. I hope that day will be convenient to your Lordship. To add you to any company enhances the sum extremely to,

My dear Lord,

Your most faithful servant,

A. Pope[2].

The Earl of Chesterfield to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

London, April 24th, 1741.

My dear Lord,

A favorable opportunity tempts me to do what I had a great mind to, and to lay it upon the opportunity. Mr. Hume's going to Scotland makes me trouble you with this letter, which will consequently get to you unopened, though very possibly you would not have escaped one, had he not gone;

[1] Field-marshal John Duke of Argyle and Greenwich died in October, 1743.

[2] This letter was probably written before the dissolution of Sir Robert Walpole's administration, but towards the end of it.

for as no distance can remove you from my thoughts, it is not likely that it could protect you from my letters.

You have heard in general (to be sure) of what happened in both Houses upon the Vote of Credit[1]; but I believe, you may be glad to know more particulars. Pulteney gave up the point at once with alacrity in the House of Commons, seconded by your friend Sandys, who went still further than he, to make his court upon the tender point of Hanover. The next day the King's speech was to be considered in our House, when, before the meeting of the House, Carteret came up to the Duke of Argyle and myself, and said to us, 'You heard what was 'done in the House of Commons yesterday; we 'shall do the same here to-day.' We answered, that we had not the least intention of doing the same, for that we should certainly oppose the motion; at which he seemed concerned and surprised. Accordingly the Duke of Argyle threw the first stone at the motion for the address, and I, the second and last; then Carteret opened himself with all the zeal and heart of a convert, or an apostate, which you please, if a man can be called either, who

[1] The vote was for three hundred thousand pounds as a subsidy to the Queen of Hungary attacked by the King of Prussia. There was no division in the Commons on this question; but though Coxe, in his 'Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole,' has stated their debate fully, he has said nothing of that here mentioned in the Lords, although it ended by a division. He does not appear to have been as well aware of the feelings under which Mr. Pulteney and Mr. Sandys acted in this matter, as Lord Chesterfield was.

has no religion at all. We divided the House, not so much to shew our own strength, which we knew, but his weakness; and indeed it appeared upon the division, that he left us *lui troisième et demi* only, that is, himself, Winchelsea, Roxburgh, and Berkeley of Stratton, who will not always go with him; the others who left us, such as Northampton, and Oxford, doing it visibly upon other considerations. His Royal Highness behaved sillily upon this occasion, making Lords North and Darnley vote against us; such was the power of the *natale solum*. This has hurt him much in the public. Our opposition in the House of Lords had like to have spirited up one in the House of Commons in the committee, in which Pulteney would have been brought to the same trial as his friend Carteret, and, I dare say, would have acted in the same manner[1]; but I prevented, though with difficulty, that opposition, because I plainly saw, that it would be almost only a Tory opposition, and that Pulteney would have carried two-thirds of the Whigs present along with him; a triumph which I thought it better he should not have at the end of this parliament. Let his triumph, or his mortification, whichever circumstances may then produce, begin with the next parliament; we are resolved to bring it to the trial, that is, in the supposition, that it be worth while to do anything at all, which I much doubt. Your friend, the Duchess of Marlborough, has in your

[1] See the note to Lady Murray's letter of the 3d February, 1738.

absence employed me as your substitute; and I have brought Mr. Hooke[1] and her together, and having done that will leave the rest to them, not caring to meddle myself in an affair, which, I am sure, will not turn out at last to her satisfaction, though I hope, and believe, it will to his advantage.

I propose setting out for Aix-la-Chapelle in about a fortnight, from thence to Spa, till the beginning of August, and then to take a tour for the autumn at least, if not longer, in France. If about that time you propose being at Bolingbroke's, I will contrive my affairs so as to meet you there; otherwise I shall take D'Argeville, as it may be most suitable to my plan of rambling in that country. I tell you truly, what I have told to nobody else, that unless the prospect here mends extremely, I shall not be in haste to return, but will make a considerable stay in a country, that will do me a great deal of good, at a time when I can do no country any good at all. The languor and dispiritedness, that have made life burthensome to me all this winter, require a better climate, and more dissipation than I can find here; and I think, it is better conversing with the cheerful, natural born slaves of France, than with the sullen, venal, voluntary ones of England. But as I shall still be glad to hear from those here, who still wish to be free, let me sometimes, my dear Lord, hear from you. While you are in Scotland, inform me

[1] 'The Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough,' written by Hooke the historian under her inspection, was published in 1742.

of your health only, in which I need not tell you the part I take. When you come here, you may add whatever your own leisure, and the situation of things allow. Direct for me at my house in town, from whence all letters will be sent me; upon any extraordinary occasion make use of some amanuensis you can trust, and sign 'Johnson.' The curiosity of knowing what becomes of one's country, and one's friends, is natural, nay, the want of it would be blameable; but beyond that, I protest, the melancholy prospect before us has sunk me into such an indifference as to public matters, that I should neither trouble my friends nor myself about them. I want those two great prevailing springs of action, avarice and ambition; and being convinced, that, as the world goes, a man, that will enjoy a quiet conscience, must lead a quiet life, I most cheerfully embrace an honest, however contemptible obscurity, in which I shall ever be,

Your most faithful, humble servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

Pray make my compliments to Lord Stair, when you see him; these late events will prove to him, how impossible it was to have any concert between Scotland, and those here, who had no concert among themselves.

John Duke of Argyle to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Caroline Park, May 23d, 1741.

My dear Lord,

I have sent for Mr. Campbell; and if all I can say will persuade him to do what I take to be his duty, it will give me great pleasure, for I am proud of having every body know, that I have your interest and honor at heart. Pray make my compliments to Mr. Hume Campbell, and tell him, I most heartily and most sincerely wish him success[1]. My love for you both must last, because it is founded upon real esteem.

I am with great respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient, and

Most faithful, humble servant,

ARGYLE and GREENWICH.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

I begin a letter in answer to yours of the 26th of March, O. S., my dear Lord, without knowing

[1] The parliament was dissolved on the 28th April, 1741. Mr. Hume Campbell stood again, and successfully, for Berwickshire.

when, where, or how I shall convey it to you. The questions, I asked your Lordship relating to the state of the revenue at several periods, require indeed to be answered with that exactness and precision, which you cannot give them, till you have your papers about you; and I shall therefore wait till next winter for your informations on those points. I can do so the better, because I have been forced by many disappointments, some of which are of an extraordinary nature, and such as I did not expect, to lay aside all thoughts of writing a continued history of the negociations, that led to the peace of Utrecht, and of the rise and progress of the war that preceded some, and followed others of them. I must content myself to throw upon paper such notes, anecdotes, and observations, as I have the means of collecting, and the opportunity of making in this retreat. They will be rather memorials for history, than history; but they will be authentic, impartial, clear, and so important, as to throw sufficient light on the passages of those times, that have been falsified and disguised to serve the turn of party in a manner, that has, I presume, no example. In what order soever therefore these broken minutes are entered, they will be easily reduced into that which time and matter require. As to the first question, I had already answered it to myself, as you do; but finding myself quoted in some private memorials, that I have lately

perused, for having made the objection to Mesnager[1] at the time he was at London, I was willing to be confirmed, that there was no ground for the objection, and that I had never made it.

The melancholy state of our country sits heavy upon you, and so it should. To be undone, and to be so undone, must affect deeply every man, who reflects on the past, feels the present, and foresees the future, as your Lordship is capable of doing. If you was not so affected, you would not be the man you are. You would be one of that unreflecting, unfeeling, unforeseeing race, to most of whom nature has denied common sense, and none of whom have formed true sentiments concerning duty, interest, or honor. I often recall a saying of Mr. Daniel Pulteney, that an affectation of zeal against the Pretender, for the principles of liberty, for the protestant interest, and for a balance of power in Europe, would be improved by some, and would seduce others, into measures fatal to Britain. He saw this coming; we see it come. The remnant, the refuse of a party, who gained credit formerly under these appearances with the assistance of adventurers of every denomination, have enslaved and beggared the nation. I speak of it as done; and well I may, since all opposition to the iniquity, and folly, and ignorance, that combine to bring about

[1] The French diplomatic agent, who signed the preliminaries of peace between England and France on the part of the French government at London in September, 1711.

the consummation of this ruin, is given up. But, my Lord, notwithstanding this, and though you are excluded, as you say, from public life, wherein you could hope for little success, and therefore little satisfaction at this time, give me leave to say, that you are not condemned to drag a heavy, dull, insipid life, in amusements, common forms, and idle conversation. You cannot be condemned to this, and much less can you condemn yourself to it. The great advantage, which men like you have over the vulgar of every degree, consists in that independency on fortune, which they are able to assume. I do not affect stoicism; on the contrary, I think, the great motives to it were incarnate pride, a certain sourness and moroseness of temper, false notions of human nature, and these wrought up to a kind of enthusiasm; for there is such a thing in philosophy, as well as in religion. As to their doctrine, it consisted in little more than using new and pompous expressions on trite and common subjects, or in talking too highly of men, and too meanly of the Divinity. They gave auspicious names to their ships, —the thought is Plutarch's—but they were cast away, and drowned like other men. Though this be true, my Lord, yet is it true likewise, that we may assume the independency I speak of, and that we may be philosophers without being stoics. The affairs of the world will hurry on in a multitude of various combinations; and different men will be differently affected by them; they will constitute

the good fortune of some, and the ill fortune of others. This it is not in our power to prevent; but there is another manner, an inward, as well as an outward manner of being affected by them; and this may be in our power, if we please. Misfortune will be misfortune, and pain will be pain, though the bully in philosophy refuse to call either by its proper name; but both may be rendered tolerable; and I advance no paradox in saying, that a man may be happy in the midst of misfortune, as he may be miserable in the midst of good fortune. As to the means, by which this may be brought about, I will only say, that they seem to me to depend on an early and constant attention of the mind to appreciate things according to their real value, and not according to that imaginary value, which public custom or private passion has set on them; but I stop at the very entrance into this large field of reflection, where your Lordship can expatiate without any help of mine, and, to change the figure, I do not pretend to put arms into your hands; I only mean to remind you of employing those you have.

June the 9th.

By sending this letter immediately away, I just now learn, that it will come to Calais time enough to pass the water, and reach Brinsden by a safe conveyance. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Has not the ministerial cabal performed a noble

action in employing a military force at Westminster to deprive 20,000 men of an opportunity of exercising their right to vote, and to bring that creature Sundon into Parliament, by excluding Vernon? The enterprise on Carthagena[1] is become very difficult, by the time, and opportunities given to the Spaniards to fortify the place, and to reinforce the garrison; but as far as our accounts reach, it has been executed with great vigour and success. It is visible, that our nation may assert her honour, as well as her rights, against the Spaniards, with great glory and advantage; but I fear, we shall be more attentive to the Queen of Hungary's interests than our own, and that we shall throw the small remainder of our wealth, where we have thrown so much already, into the German gulph, which cries 'give, give,' and is never satisfied. Adieu, my dear Lord[2].

I am afraid to let myself go into a pleasing expectation, that has been given me, of seeing your Lordship, and our friend Chetwynd here, towards the latter end of the summer. Shall I indulge it?

[1] It was conducted by Admiral Vernon, but failed.

[2] The mention of the contest between Lord Sundon, a Lord of the Treasury, and Admiral Vernon, at an election, which was that of Westminster in 1741, fixes the date of this letter in that year. The election was declared void.

Mr. Pope to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Twickenham, Oct. 10th, 1741.

My Lord,

One of the great evils of these immoral times is, that our superiors bear an enmity not only to public, but private virtues, and discourage every consequence and reward of friendship itself. The post-office cannot suffer two friends quietly to enjoy the testimonies of each other's love or esteem, or to correspond upon subjects less evil, or less interested, than they would themselves. Surely this must have been the only cause, that could discourage us from writing. I have often asked Mr. Hume, when he had an opportunity of sending by a safe hand, and found none. I will believe your Lordship has written to me; and your Lordship should believe, I have written to you. But, I assure you, if I have no remembrances of you but what I bear, and ever shall bear in my own heart, you shall at least hear of me some way or another; if not in writing, in print; if not in life, in death; if not in a will, in something as solemn and as sacred. For I may tell you, that I am determined to publish no more in my life-time, for many reasons; but principally through the zeal I have to speak the *whole truth*, and neither to praise or dispraise by halves, or with worldly managements. I think fifty an age at which to write no longer for amuse-

ment, but for some use, and with design to do some good. I never had any uneasy desire of fame, or keen resentment of injuries; and now both are asleep together. Other ambition I never had, than to be tolerably thought of by those I esteemed; and this has been gratified beyond my proudest hopes. I hate no human creature; and the moment any can repent or reform, I love them sincerely. Public calamities touch me; but when I read of past times, I am somewhat comforted as to the present, upon the comparison; and, at the worst, I thank God, that I do not yet live under a tyranny nor an inquisition; that I have thus long enjoyed independency, freedom of body, and mind; have told the world my opinions, even on the highest subjects, and of the greatest men, pretty freely[1]; that good men have not been ashamed of me; and that my works have not died before me (which is the case

[1] An instance of inconvenience arising to Pope from this free expression of his thoughts was mentioned by Lord Marchmont. He was dining with Pope and a large company at a villa of Lord Bathurst, near London. Whilst they were sitting after dinner, a servant coming in whispered something to Pope, which disconcerted him so visibly, that Lord Bathurst inquired of the man, what he had said, and was told, that a young gentleman with a sword had desired him to inform Mr. Pope, that he was waiting for him in an adjacent lane, and that his name was Dennis. Lord Bathurst, learning this communication from the son of Pope's old antagonist, who purposed thus to avenge his father's wrongs, immediately left the room, and, taking hat and sword, proceeded to expostulate with the poet's foeman, which he did with such success as to relieve him from this cause of apprehension.

Pope, in a printed letter to Dr. Arbuthnot of the 17th July, 1734, thus expresses himself respecting the nobleman above mentioned: 'Lord Bathurst I 'have always honoured for every good quality, that a person of his rank ought 'to have.'

of most authors); and, if they die soon after, I shall probably not know it, or certainly not be concerned at it in the next world.

The greatest, and, I think, the most rational pleasure I could enjoy, would be in a nearer intercourse with one or two, whom fortune keeps at a distance from me, and from their country. To the few, who deserve their care, I apply in their absence, and find much satisfaction in seeing they know your merit and importance, and never forget to talk of it. You would feel some emotion if I named their names, and wish at least, (as we all do) that your private affairs were so well settled as to admit your bidding a lasting adieu to Scotland. I hope your Lordship, and another of my friends, will fix here together. I mean him[1], who, though tost all his life by so many whirls of fortune, still possesses all in possessing himself; is ever too great a mind not to be a beneficent one; and must love his country, however she has used him. She cannot have used him worse than she has herself, in the choice of such servants, as she preferred to him these twenty years. And he cannot but desire to do her the last honors, if every friend he loves is resolved to attend her even to her funeral; and will, I dare answer for him, join as sincere a tear with them as any man.

What (after all) have I to say, my dear Lord? It is a pain to me to write what I must write, if I write

[1] Lord Bolingbroke.

to you, for the same things are at both our hearts, and they are displeasing things. To tell you my real respect is yet more painful, for this I cannot express, though the other I can; and even to aim at expressing it would displease your modesty.

Put it all then, I beg you, to the account of friendship; and be assured I love, as much as I esteem you. I should be happier, if you came to town before December; yet, if you do not, I shall be the less unhappy, since I am to be at Bath these two months, or more. I will return the sooner, whenever you come; but at least, next spring, let not the motto be in vain, which I am putting over my door at Twickenham, '*Libertati, et amicitiæ.*'

The Earl of Chesterfield to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

London, Nov. 12th, 1741.

My dear Lord,

Mr. Hume gave me yesterday your letter of the 25th of September, which, I confess, was a great disappointment to one, who both hoped and expected to have found you here in person at this time of the year. He even gave me no comfort upon that point, but said, he did not know that you had fixed any time for coming to your friends in town. I therefore write this in a great hurry, to

beg of you to come here as soon as your indispensable private affairs will permit you. I need not tell you, that it is not proper for you, in the light that all mankind sees you, to be buried in Scotland at this extraordinary crisis[1]; less need I tell you, how agreeable and necessary your presence here will be to all your friends, and how indispensably necessary it is to me, who cannot stir one step without you. The minority is a considerable and a willing one; and if we can frustrate the designs of some few, who want to divide and weaken it, some good, I think, may be done; but I repeat it again, I can do nothing without you, so

Nil mihi rescribas, attamen ipse veni,

is the most earnest request of,

My dear Lord,

Your most faithful, humble servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

The Earl of Stair to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

New Liston, Dec. 24th, 1741.

My dear Lord,

I give your Lordship my most hearty thanks for your obliging letter of the 22d, which I receive this moment. I think your going to London is

[1] The new parliament was to meet on the 4th of the next month, and the opposition was conscious of its strength, and preparing for those efforts, which drove Sir Robert Walpole to resign in the month of February, 1742.

quite right, and absolutely necessary at this critical time. I hope, you will be able to do a great deal of good there, being, as I know you are, quite disposed to promote concord and unanimity, the only things can possibly save us. If I was to be at London, my great secret would be to have no will of my own, but to follow the common weal implicitly.

The great joy, that I have in the victories[1] obtained in the House of Commons, arises from the unanimity that I have remarked in the country party there. I hope, it flows down from your Lordship. If our leaders agree, and act wisely, in my poor opinion they still have great things in their hands, though the task will be a very different one many ways; but I am sure no good can be done without concord and unanimity. You see, I must return to that great point again, upon which, I conceive, every other thing depends. I most heartily wish good success to my country, and to your Lordship, whom I look upon to be one of its best friends. My service to Earl Chesterfield; he and your Lordship know what I think of him; if we had some such as his Lordship and Lord Cobham, my expectations would be more sanguine than they are.

[1] The first division in the new parliament was on the Bossiney election; Sir Robert Walpole carried the question by a majority of six: but the next, which was on the choice of a chairman of the Committee of Elections, he lost by four. These are the divisions which Lord Stair must refer to; he could not have learnt the next division when writing, that on the Westminster election, which took place on the 22d December, 1741, and which Sir Robert Walpole also lost by four votes.

My dear Lord, I am, with sincere esteem and affection,

All yours,

STAIR.

This family and Lady Loudon send hearty services to Lady Marchmont and to your Lordship. I am in great pain for the Duchess of Marlborough; nothing can equal my affliction for the loss of my most worthy friend the Duke of Montrose, of whom there is no hope[1].

Sarah Duchess of Marlborough to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

March 3d, 1742.

My Lord,

I give you many thanks for the favor of your letter; and it is a pleasure to me to find, that you approve of my inclination in choosing a quiet life in the country rather than being at London. As I am of the simpler sex, and fourscore, I am sure, I have nothing, that can tempt me to change my inclination, since I can be of no use to anybody; and though I know some, that are very agreeable to converse with, the uncertainty of seeing them, from their own natural calls and my ill health, makes me choose to live as I do, till something unavoidable

[1] James Duke of Montrose died in this year.

forces me to Marlborough House, where I cannot avoid many troubles, which very much overbalances the very few, that I can hope to converse with. I am glad you had any success in the House of Lords; and as you are a very young man, it may naturally make you hope, that things may happen to grow better; but if they do not, it is certainly right to do all in one's power, that can contribute to it; but for my own part, I think, if we could get the better of the tyrants and fools, that have so near brought this country to ruin, as history gives an account of the thirty tyrants, those, that are honest, would not be the better for it; at least it appears so to me by all that has been done by the changes in the last scheme, when the patriots[1] joined with the court. Much the greatest part of England are ignorant and poor; and it must be equal to them who governs. Those that have fortunes worth preserving are such knaves and fools, that to get more they have shewn they will hazard the losing of all; however, I think every man, that struggles to oppose what is against both reason and the laws, deserves to be esteemed and praised as highly as even Mr. Pope could do it.

I think myself much obliged both to your Lord-

[1] The country, or self-called patriot party, in opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, had long been divided within itself into two bodies, whose separate tendencies had been for some time sufficiently visible, when his fall disunited them completely. Lord Carteret, the Marquis of Tweeddale, Lord Winchilsea, Lord Gower, and Mr. Sandys took office, as did also the Duke of Argyle; but he soon quitted them. Mr. Pulteney presided over the formation of this administration. But the Duke of Bedford, Lord Sandwich, Lord Chesterfield, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Waller, and Mr. Lyttelton remained in opposition.

ship and to him for having the least thought of coming to see me; but at this time, as the gout, when people are old, does not fix in any one part, which, though very painful, it ends in giving you ease, mine is almost always upon me, in some part or other, and gives me a great deal of uneasiness, so much that I cannot have any pleasure in conversation; and besides my family is now in a good deal of disorder by having sick servants; but I think, I am in no present danger of death; and when it does come, I hope I shall bear it patiently, though I own I am not arrived at so much philosophy as not to think torturing pain an evil; that is the only thing that I now dread, for death is unavoidable; and I cannot find that anybody has yet demonstrated whether it is a good thing, or a bad one. Pray do not think me wicked in saying this; and if you talk to Mr. Pope of me, endeavor to keep him my friend, for I do firmly believe the immortality of the soul, as much as he does, though I am not learned enough to have found out what it is; but as I am sure there must be some Great Power that formed this world, that Power will distinguish with rewards and punishments, otherwise the wicked would be happier than the good, the first of which generally gratify all their passions, and those that are most worthy are generally ill-treated, and most unhappy. I have tired you a great while with writing upon things that, you know, I cannot possibly understand; but this truth I can assure you, that since I can re-

member, though I can give no account how it came to be so, I never feared anything so much as to do the least thing that, I imagined, could possibly bring any shame upon me; and therefore I hope, that for small omissions my punishment will not be severe, when I go out of this world; and I think, there cannot possibly be a worse place of any long continuance, than this is at present. I am, with the greatest esteem and truth imaginable,

Your Lordship's most faithful, and
Obliged humble servant,
S. MARLBOROUGH.

Sarah Duchess of Marlborough to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

March 15th, 1742.

My Lord,

I have this day had the pleasure of receiving your letter, and Mr. Pope's, which gave me a great deal of pleasure, notwithstanding all your jokes upon me. You are pleased to call me the head of the school of philosophy, and very obligingly press me to give you opportunities of improving yourselves. I think, you may very well give me that title, since I immediately found out that, what you desired of me, was reasonable to think, would fix me stronger

in my opinion, that there was nothing so good for me as retirement; and if I could receive letters from you and Mr. Pope, as you had leisure, I would never come to town as long as I live. In that way of conversing I should have all the pleasure, that I can possibly propose, without the disappointment when Mr. Pope falls asleep[1], nor the dread of your taking leave, because you were weary. In this way of conversing I can make the visits as long as I please, by reading them over and over again, and by staying here avoid all that is disagreeable to my temper at London, where I must go in a very little while; and when I am there, I shall see you sometimes, uncertainly, which is not a delightful thing, for I cannot be of the opinion, that expectation makes a blessing dear; I think, it seldom or ever pays one for the trouble of it; but I shall always be pleased to see your Lordship and Mr. Pope, when you will be so bountiful as to give me any part of your time. In answer to the honor you do me in calling me an oracle, I cannot value myself at all upon thinking, as I did, of some, that you were disappointed in, because for a long time I was so well acquainted with them, as to know it would end as it did; for when any of my acquaintance has to my own

[1] The Duchess herself at her evening conversations occasionally covered her head with her handkerchief, and was then supposed to be asleep. She was in that state one evening, at a time at which she was much displeased with her grandson, then Mr. John Spencer, for acting, as she conceived, under the influence of Mr. Fox, whose name being mentioned, she exclaimed, 'Is that the fox that stole my goose?'

knowledge done a very base thing, or a very foolish one, I never imagine such people are to be relied upon. As for my dear friend Socrates, I believe, we have no such men in this country; and yet I am not perfectly satisfied even with him; for I think, being unconcerned at dying was more reasonable at a great age, and being quite weary of the world, which could give him no pleasure, no more than it can me, than for the reasons he gives for not complying with his friends in going out of prison, because he died according to the law. That is just as if I, if I cared to live, should choose to submit to death, when I could escape, because the sentence was given by a majority of robbers, who had broke the laws to condemn me; but, notwithstanding this, I like him better than any of the other philosophers. As for his shewing such spirits as he did in the conversation, after he had taken the poison, I imagine, that it was an easy death, that came by degrees; and he could talk, and died much easier than our physicians treat us, when they blister us, and put frying-pans upon our heads, after it is demonstration we cannot live.

I find, you are as ignorant what the soul is as I am. But though none of my philosophers demonstrate plainly that, I do think, there must be rewards and punishments after this life; and I have read lately some of my dear friends the philosophers, that there was an opinion, that the soul never died; that it went into some other man or beast. And that seems,

in my way of thinking, to be on the side of the argument for the immortality of the soul; and though the philosophers prove nothing to my understanding certain, yet I have a great mind to believe, that kings and first ministers' souls, when they die, go into chimney-sweepers. And their punishment is, that they remember they were great monarchs, were complimented by the parliament upon their great abilities, and thanked for the great honor they did nations in accepting of the crown, at the same time that they endeavored to starve them, and were not capable of doing them the least service, though they gave him all the money in the nation. This, I think, would be some punishment, though not so much as they deserve, supposing the great persons they had been, and the condition they were reduced to. What gave me this thought of a chimney-sweeper was an accident. My servants, that are very careful of me, were fearful that, having a fire night and day four months together in my chamber, thought[1] I might be frightened, when I could not rise out of my bed, if the chimney was on fire, and persuaded me to have it swept, which I consented to; and one of the chimney-sweepers was a little boy, a most miserable creature, without shoes, stockings, breeches, or shirt. When it was over, I sent a servant of mine to Windsor with him, to equip this poor creature with what he wanted, which cost very little, not being so well dressed as

[1] *Sic in origin.* The sense will be right, if the word *thought* is omitted.

the last Privy Seal[1]. And as I could not be sure the souls of these chimney-sweepers had come from great men, I could not repent of their being so much overpaid, as they were. This letter will be as long as a chancery bill; for I have a mind now to tell you, I had a new affront from our great and wise governors. Being quite weary of stewards, and bailiffs, and likewise of mortgages, where one must be in the power of lawyers, which I reckon a very bad thing, I had a mind to lend some money upon the land-tax, thinking that would be easy and safe, at least for a year or two; and as it is free to everybody to offer, when a loan is opened in the common way, I applied to lend. Mr. Sandys[2] refused it, and said, they would not take my money, if he could hinder it; and the reason, I heard from a person of consequence, he gave, was, that I had spoke ill of him. This diverted me; for it is of very little consequence the loss of so much interest, for so short a time as in all probability I could have it. As soon as I have fixed the day for going to Marlborough House, I will give my two scholars notice of it, whom I had rather see than any body there; and am, with the greatest truth,

Your most obliged, and most
Humble servant,
S. MARLBOROUGH.

[1] Lord Hervey. [2] Then Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont

April 6th, 1742.

My dear Lord,

Yours of the 24th of February is come safely to my hands; and there was no risk in the conveyance, since the whole letter turns on British affairs alone. I send this by Mrs. Chetwynd's son, who sets out to-morrow for Holland, though, I believe, I shall confine myself in it to the same melancholy theme. You may see perhaps a letter to a certain abbot, writ in French, and therefore to be sure by a Frenchman, but a well-wisher to our country and the common interest of Europe. I writ a very long one, it is almost a book, above six weeks ago, to your Lordship. The person, by whom I hoped to get it conveyed to you, has not had the opportunity he expected; and it speaks too plainly and too strongly of all affairs, foreign and domestic, to be trusted lightly. I am sorry to find, that the forebodings[1] of my mind are likely to be verified. I apprehended all that I see happen. How could I do less? Long before I left Britain, it was plain, that some persons meant, that the opposition should serve as their scaffolding, nothing else; and whenever they had a glimpse of hope, that they might rise to power without it, they

[1] Lord Bolingbroke here comments on the administration formed by Mr. Pulteney and Lord Carteret, on Sir Robert Walpole's resignation, in conjunction with such of the ministers as retained office.

showed the greatest readiness to demolish it. Nothing therefore has appeared, which was not foreseen; and if other persons have been prepared for it, nothing has happened, which ought to be deemed irremediable. Poor Wyndham would have been so prepared, I think, and have helped to prepare others; but as far as I can judge by some letters, I receive from your side, this kind of preparation seems to have been wanting. I observe a surprise, which I am the more sorry for, because it aggravates disappointment, makes honest men more ready to despond, and others, by despair of success on one side, more liable to temptation on the other. I shall not descend into the particulars of your Lordship's letter, every line, every syllable of which I adopt, except on one point, on which I must descend into some reflections, because they concern the welfare, present and future, and the very being of Great Britain. Among the pretences, as you call them very justly, and that have been, you say, admitted for reasons, only because it was of no use to dispute them, it has been urged, that a court is to be taken by sap, and not by storm; since a storm, even if it succeeded, might throw all into confusion. Now, in answer to this military argumentation, let it be observed, that the examples are frequent of places surrendered at discretion, when they could be no longer defended, nor had hopes of being relieved; but that this is the first instance of a place surrendered to the

miners by a capitulation with them alone; and on this condition,—that they and their under-workmen alone should enter into it, and hold it jointly with the garrison. The fear of confusion is a stale pretence. Wyndham was once the bubble of it, at a time however when there was more color for urging it. He would not have been so now, for from whence should this confusion have sprung? The outworks, as your Lordship observes, were stormed without confusion; and the same spirit of union, the same disinterested zeal for the interest and honor of their country in this distressful conjuncture, would have preserved the same order in a storm of the body of the place among the same troops. Would this confusion have sprung from the desperate resolution of the garrison? To think so was to fear, where no fear was. But no man thought so; and all the heroes of the garrison would have surrendered at discretion, if they had not treated underground with the miners. There is some ugly resemblance between this case and our infamous and fatal conduct in the Mediterranean. The French fleet would not have covered that of Spain, and insulted that of Britain[1], if the French had not known, that we were to be left, and were left, too weak to attack them;

[1] In the preceding year Admiral Haddock fell in with the Spanish fleet, which had joined the French squadron from Toulon, in the Mediterranean. They were drawn up in line of battle; and the French admiral notified to him that, as they were employed in a joint expedition, if he attacked the Spaniards, the French must defend them. As the combined fleet was twice as strong as the English, Admiral Haddock left the Spaniards unmolested.

they undertook to defend, because they were sure not to be offended. I say no more than what I hear said every day of my life by those who rejoice in our shame.

But to leave these allusions, and to speak more seriously and plainly on a subject of so great importance, the late opportunity was favorable in this very respect,—that it was an opportunity of changing the administration without a composition; of changing measures and hands for no other reason, nor any further than was necessary to secure this great point, the change of measures. The very notion of a composition implies the leaving open the two great sources of all our national misfortunes, Walpole's influence, and that of Hanover. The last of these gave a wrong turn to our conduct in foreign affairs from the beginning of the late king's reign, as you will see it undeniably proved in the long letter above mentioned; and the first, confirming and improving this, has, by neglects and blunders of every sort, brought our country, and all Europe into the present forlorn state. Can we hope to recover from this state, if our councils are under the private influence of the man, whose public conduct and influence brought us into it? Can we hope to exert that vigor, and to regain that dignity, which become the crown of Great Britain, and which were never more wanted than in the present moment, as long as our politics are dragged down to the low standard of those of Hanover, and our powerful

nation (for such we are still, if we know how to employ our power.) is forced to temporize, to connive, and to bear, like a little electorate bullied by Prussia on one side, and France on the other?

My Lord, I am out of the scene of action as well as you, with this difference, that I neither desire, nor ought to desire to return to it; whereas you may, and ought to desire to employ yourself in the service of your country. I hope you will soon be called to it. Whether the true state of things abroad be seen in a true light in Britain or not, I am ignorant, for your domestic state is enough known; but this I will venture to say, that, if it is so, you must be all convinced, that it is such as admits of no further false measures. The least error may prove fatal in the present complicated distemper, that requires remedies of different kinds; some immediate and strong in effect; others alterative, slow, and gentle; and all united in one system of cure. These are not mere words; and your Lordship will understand and apply them, though many British politicians would not. We have talked much of maintaining the balance of power in Europe, and never more than whilst we were taking measures to destroy it, by throwing still more power into the scale of Bourbon, wherein the treaty of Utrecht[1] had left but too much. We ought to talk less; but it behoves us to think more and better about restoring, somehow or other, such a balance;

[1] Lord Bolingbroke's own treaty.

for the effecting it will depend on a steady direction of our conduct, in concert with the States of the United Provinces, to this great object, and on the improvement of contingent events by art and management. It is so necessarily a work of time, that precipitation and direct attempt towards it in this conjuncture would make that impossible, according to my apprehension, which our neglects and blunders, the misunderstanding between our King and the King of Prussia, and that eternal bias I have already mentioned to incline our councils, have made difficult. But, my Lord, in the mean time, the growing evil should be stopped by prudent and yet vigorous measures: it may be so, even by such a turn, of conduct, as will leave France and her German allies no reasonable objection to make; and with Spain no measures are to be kept. Those that have been kept have cost us dear. It is impossible for me to conclude this letter without saying something to you concerning the Duke of Argyle[1]. I have loved and honored him, ever since I knew him,—that is, these forty years; and it is with inexpressible joy, that I hear of him at the head of a coalition of parties united in the cause of their country. May success crown his endeavors! honor certainly will; the British nation will bless his memory. You are in the right to live with Pope,

[1] The Duke of Argyle was Commander of the Forces, and Master-General of the Ordnance in the new government, but resigned in less than a month. Lord Stair became Commander-in-Chief; and the Duke of Montague had the Ordnance.

and not with Cornbury; and I cannot object to your retirement, if you mean by it nothing more than to remain at anchor, whilst you cannot sail. I lay up my weather-beaten vessel in port; and there she shall remain, till she falls to pieces. Receive the best and kindest compliments of the woman of this house. Adieu, my Lord; adieu, till we meet; for we will meet.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Rathbone place, Saturday Morning[1].

My dear Lord,

I am going to dine at Chiswick, and from thence to lie at Twickenham. Can you dine with us to-morrow, and carry me to Battersea in the evening? If this be convenient to you, I shall have Monday and Tuesday clear to pass them with you, and shall embark at Greenwich on Wednesday about one o'clock: thus I shall leave our country with the more regret; but thus too I shall carry with me the best impressions of it.

I am most faithfully your Lordship's
Obedient humble servant,
H. St. J. B.

[1] This letter was probably written in the end of July, 1742.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Argeville, Aug. 2d, 1742.

I was glad to see a letter from you, my dear Lord, dated from Battersea[1]; and if I had imagined that habitation could have suited you, it should have been offered sooner; but I thought you intent on another situation. Use it as your own; I have little to offer; but all I have is at the service of such a friend, as you are. My passage was indeed tedious; but Duroquet writes me word, I was in a danger I little apprehended. There were, it seems, three Spanish privateers at anchor in the little port of Wissant near Calais; they saw and knew Clarabut's vessel, but they despised us, and a day or two after took four vessels going to Ostend, which they have carried into Dunkirk. I am got back to my retreat, which is not however so much a retreat, as I could wish it. I hear little news, and am not over-anxious of any, though a man, who wishes well to the public, cannot be quite free from curiosity in a crisis as important as the present. You know how very welcome the young man you mention will be to me; if his friends think, that I can be of use to him in directing his studies, and contributing otherwise to his improvement, I shall do my utmost to answer their expectations, and hope in that case,

[1] From Lord Bolingbroke's house there.

they will not defer too long sending him to me. The woman of this house returns your Lordship her thanks, and makes you many compliments. May I take leave to assure my Lady Marchmont of my humble respects? Is it true, that Mr. Murray comes into the post of solicitor-general[1]? I wish it may, because I love the man, and because I rejoice, whenever I see, what has been seldom seen, that personal merit is a recommendation, and that men are raised in the state for the sake of the public, and not merely for the encouragement and service of any party. Adieu, my dear Lord! no man can be attached to another by stronger bonds of esteem and affection, than I am to your Lordship.

BOLINGBROKE.

The Earl of Chesterfield to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

London, Sept. 8th, 1742.

My dear Lord,

The ill fortune, that commonly attends me in everything, has distinguished itself lately in putting me out of your way, every time you have endeavored to see me. I have as often intended to wait upon you at Battersea, but have as constantly been prevented by some unexpected and ill-timed incident. I have a thousand things to say to you, and to almost only you; for, except one or two

[1] It was so.

more of my friends and yours, who can one speak to with either satisfaction or safety in these times of perfidy and avarice, when half-a-crown can dissolve the strongest ties of friendship?

I go to-morrow to Nugent's[1] for a week, from whence, when I return, I shall take up Pope at Twickenham the 19th, and carry him to the Duchess of Marlborough's at Windsor, in our way to Cobham's, where we are to be the 21st of this month. Should you happen to be at the Duchess of Marlborough's the 19th or 20th, it would be a pleasure, I dare say, to all who will be there those two days, and to none a more sensible one, than to

Your most attached and faithful servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Oct. 30th, 1742.

Your letters, my dear Lord, of the 14th August and 18th of September lie before me; and Mrs. Cleland's return to London affords me a favourable opportunity of answering them. I saw Mr. —— arrive here the other day, with very great pleasure; and he shall have all the services in my power to do him, on his own account, and in regard to his

[1] Probably Mr. Nugent, afterwards Earl Nugent. Mrs. Nugent was a correspondent of Pope's.

father's memory. I should not easily have suspected him of the defect, your Lordship hints to me; his exterior carries another air; and he seemed sensible of the little he has hitherto learned, of what it will import him most to know, in a conversation we had lately, and wherein I endeavoured to excite his diligence, by shewing him, how much time he has lost. I shall however keep in mind the advertisement you give me, and warn him against the fault, without seeming to suspect him of it.

The subject, on which your last letter turns principally, is confused enough; and the sketch you draw may have been drawn hastily; but it is drawn with great clearness, and confirms very strongly my opinion of the state of things at home, and my resolution not to meddle in them, whether I continue abroad, as it is most probable I shall, or go once more into Britain. What shocked me most, though I expected something of that kind, from the knowledge I had of my countrymen, when I was last among you, was to find the disappointment so strong relatively to private views, and so weak relatively to those of a public nature. This I felt in every man, I had an opportunity of feeling, except your Lordship, and one or two more. The principles of the last opposition were the principles of very few of the opposers; and your Lordship, and I, and some few, very few besides, were the bubbles of men, whose advantage lies in having worse hearts; for I am not humble enough to allow them better

heads. The effect of another opposition, if you had men to set it on foot, and to carry it successfully on, would be another partial clandestine composition, and another scramble for places. The secretary[1], to whose frankness this justice is due, that he never disguised his opinions nor his intentions, has often said, that the late, which are, I suppose, the present measures of domestic government, are the sole expedients, by which any administration can be carried on at this time. I fear he is more in the right than you and I are willing to allow. I fear that there is in this vile generation neither the virtue nor the ability necessary to force things back into a right channel, and to keep them in it. When I say *force*, I mean that of a steady concert between a national party, predominant enough in court and in parliament to govern both. If this be so, what a condition are we in? and what have we to expect? Answer not these questions, my Lord; I dare not answer them to myself, nor determine whether it is better to be *in eâ republicâ, quæ nunc est, potiùs quam in nullâ.*

I have not probably long to live; and it is more than probable, that infirmities will increase with years. I will swallow down then the dregs of life as quietly and as calmly as I can. May your life, my dear Lord, notwithstanding all these appearances

[1] There were then two Secretaries of State; the old, the Duke of Newcastle; the new, Lord Carteret. There can be little doubt that Lord Carteret is here meant.

become a sweeter draught. Our friend Pope testifies more impatience, than they are worth, for some essays, that may be called more properly antimetaphysical than metaphysical, since the general drift of them is to shew, that there is really no such science. I have sent him one, that may not only stay, but perhaps quite stop his longing for the rest: when you read it, as I desire you would, for I impose that penance on your friendship, you will perceive, that it is not designed to be *publicâ trita manu*.

If I had any fondness to appear in the world as an author, I could content myself to insinuate truth, and to put on the fashionable garb of error; but, were I sure of applause, I could not resolve to purchase it at this rate; and, on the other hand, I should be sorry to shake even error, which it is useful to maintain in society, for no reason but this, that it is established; and which however, for this reason, deserves at least an outward regard. On this principle I have cautioned Pope; and your Lordship will oblige me greatly in taking, and repeating the same caution. When you wish my retreat uninterrupted, or generally so, you wish for me, as I wish for myself; but to shew you how much I have left myself at the mercy of others in private life by too great easiness and compliance, as I have often done in public life by too great zeal and confidence, I will tell you, that, when I returned hither from London, I found company in the house; and that from that

hour to this I have not been a day alone. I am obliged to those friends, who think me worth their attention, and who prefer often the quiet of this hermitage to the *fumum, et opes, strepitumque Romæ,* of their Rome, Paris, and Versailles. I am more obliged to them still, when they think, that the amusements of their lives must needs be those of mine, since no man thinks so well of you as he who thinks you like himself; but notwithstanding all these obligations, I wish myself more alone; and this desire is so strong in me, that I sigh after solitude in a retreat, where I expected to find it, and where I should find it, if I was in such another at home. My sole refuge will be to a little pavilion, that I have fitted up in a garden belonging to the Abbey of Sens. I have there just room for myself and three or four servants, not more; and the uncertainty, whether I am there or here, which it will be easy to keep up, may keep me more private even (when I am here). It is there, that I propose to discharge my promise to your Lordship, and to put together many memorials, anecdotes, and other miscellaneous pieces, which I have in my power, or the materials of which are so. They shall be addressed to your Lordship most certainly. The subject of a great part will probably carry the whole down to posterity; and there is nothing that can flatter me more agreeably, than to have future generations know, that I lived and died your Lordship's friend and servant.

I shall be sorry on many accounts, if a war breaks out between this nation and our's; and if it did, even that event would scarce determine me, as our friend imagines, to return home. I am of so little consequence actually, and will grow daily of so much less, if less be possible, that it may well be matter of perfect indifference to any nation, where I reside. Your preparations for war seem to be great; and the apprehensions of it here seem so too. They expect, I suppose, that you should manage it better than you have done that in the other hemisphere: of one thing at least they may be sure; you will not be betrayed to them, as you were to the Spaniards by your late minister. I say *betrayed*, and I mean it in the literal sense and the full force of the word; on which occasion I will mention to you, what I know from a person of great truth. It is this; that the officers of the Spanish army, who were so long in Provence, and are now in Savoy, complained of the fall of Walpole in their common conversation as of a most unfortunate incident, that broke their measures, and might disappoint the projects of their court. Good God! my Lord, what a strange series of false measures has brought the affairs of Europe into the present confusion, and our country under the present difficulties! This branch of the House of Bourbon acts at present avowedly in favor of the Spanish branch, the same part, as the Spanish branch of the House of Austria acted in favor of the German branch,

under the Philips II., III., and IV.; and it is possible, that France may suffer at length a diminution of wealth and power by this family ambition, as Spain suffered by the other. It is possible no doubt; and several considerations, too delicate as well as too extended for me to touch in a letter, make it perhaps probable even to men of sense, and knowledge, and temper, in this country. But in the mean time unless this false principle of policy can be baffled in its first essays, what scenes of destruction has not Europe to expect? We laid the foundations of all this, when we were in such haste to get the investitures of Bremen and Verden, which we did not get, that we broke by our ridiculous quadruple alliance[1] the neutrality of Italy, and opened that barrier ourselves, which the Queen of Spain would have attempted to open against our consent, and thereby have given us a just pretence of shutting it against her ambition more effectually than ever, of satisfying the late Emperor, and of aggrandizing the King of Sardinia instead of Don Carlos. From that time to the end of the last year what we have been doing I need not say.

I desire your Lordship to be persuaded, that you are master of Battersea, as long as I am the owner of it, if such an old and decayed habitation can please you. When you see Lord Chesterfield, Mr. Murray, or any of our common friends, be so good as to revive

[1] Signed at London on the 2d of August, 1718, between England, the Emperor, and France, and afterwards acceded to by Holland.

me in their memory. I have not received the letter you speak of; and what may surprise you with reason still more, my Lord Stair has not yet answered a letter of compliment and friendship I wrote to him by young Chetwynd upon his arrival at the Hague. I please myself much with the thought, that I shall be so happy as to see you this year, that is coming on; any year, that I miss of this satisfaction, will be a year lost in my account. Let me hear, when this letter comes safe to your hands; but answer not the contents of it by any hand, that is not quite safe. Adieu, my honored Lord. No man can be attached to another by stronger bonds of esteem and affection, than I am to your Lordship.

The Earl of Chesterfield to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Thursday, Jan. 5th, [1743.]

My dear Lord,

Lord Bolingbroke[1] dines with me to-morrow; I do not know whether Lord Marchmont does or not; but I wish he did.

[1] Lord Bolingbroke, in confidential communication with Lord Marchmont, spoke slightingly of Lord Chesterfield's talents as a minister. He said, that he one day brought to him a state paper, which was to be addressed to the Dutch

I send you the skeleton of a protest[1] upon the Hanover troops; it is truly a skeleton yet: I beg you will give it flesh and color, which nobody can do so well. It is a child which I am by no means fond of; so pray use it with all the severity necessary for its good. Keep it by you a week; insert, cut out what you think proper; and return it me as unlike as possible to what it is now.

I am, my dear Lord,
Most faithfully yours,
CHESTERFIELD.

government, but so feebly written, that he was under the necessity of writing nearly the whole of it over again. This may have happened either when Lord Chesterfield was going to the Hague as ambassador in January, 1745, or when he was Foreign Secretary of State.

[1] This letter must have been written in January, 1743. The resistance to the measure of taking the Hanoverian troops into British pay took place in the Lords on the 1st February of that year; and Lord Chesterfield took part in the debate, and in the defeat of the opposition. Mr. Coxe characterizes the protest entered by the vanquished as spirited and able.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Battersea, Monday Evening.

We will go, if your Lordship pleases, on Friday next, to dine with Mr. Browne; and Bathurst, being here when your letter arrived, insists that he will be of the party. Let me know, whether we had not best go part of the way on horseback, and part in the coach, for expedition. Adieu, my Lord and friend. I do not conclude that I have the honor to be, &c.; but I am most faithfully devoted to your Lordship.

Mr. Pope to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Sunday Night, Twickenham.

My dear Lords,

Yes, I would see you as long as I can see you, and then shut my eyes upon the world as a thing worth seeing no longer. If your charity would take up a small bird, that is half dead of the frost, and set it a-chirping for half an hour, I will jump into my cage, and put myself into your hands to-

morrow, at any hour you send. Two horses will be enough to draw me (and so would two dogs, if you had them); but even the fly upon the chariot-wheel required some bigger animal than itself to set it a-going.

Quadrigis petimus bene vivere

is literally true, when one cannot get into good company without horses; and such is my case. I am faithfully, to you both, a most cordial, entire servant,

A. Pope[1].

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Argeville, June 19th, 1743.

My dear Lord,

I stayed at Paris a day longer than I intended, so that when I came hither, it was too late to write by the post, that sets out to-day for London; and I send this to go by Saturday's courier. I am got into another climate, or the weather is changed rather. It is now excessively hot, but not too hot for me. My wife has been much indisposed, and is so still a little; but sick or well, a faithful

[1] This letter is evidently addressed to the Earl of Marchmont and to Lord Bolingbroke, although directed to the former only.

servant of Lord Marchmont's. Her best compliments and mine attend my Lady. Let me hear how you do, and what you do, even if you do nothing but dig, and plant, and hoe. The principal errand of this letter is to put you in mind, and to set you the example, of writing by the common post. We are happy enough, for it is a happiness to have nothing to say to one another, which may not be committed to that conveyance. I am busy in expelling out of my mind, as much as I can, all the ideas, that two months' stay on your side of the water foisted into it, about my private affairs and party politics, which have one resemblance at least, that neither of them will mend. There is perhaps another resemblance between them, for I helped to spoil the former by not proportioning my conduct to the circumstances I was in. The ideas I recall, or let into my mind, are of a different kind, such as I contemplate for my own instruction, and for the amusement, if not the instruction, of your Lordship and a very few friends. The mention of what employs me in this solitude makes me remember, that I forgot to desire your Lordship to return to Hawkins the two volumes of Reeves's 'Apologies' that I left at Battersea, and to pay him for the three volumes of my Lord Bacon's Works by Shaw. I wrote two lines to Mr. Chetwynd from Calais. I suppose him gone by this time into Staffordshire; and it is but just I should leave him to a full leisure there, since I give him so much business when he is in town. I doubt not,

but your Lordship takes Pope as my grandmother's cephalic drops were to be taken,—little at a time, and often. When you are together, let me make the third. Imagine me, or wish me present. I trouble you with no compliments to friends. There are some among them, to whom you may say, if by chance they should inquire about me, that I am learning for the amusement of my solitude to play at backgammon; and that I find the back game may be played often to advantage, when the fore game is lost.

Adieu, my dear Lord. I send my letter without any compliment, that awkward mimic of friendship. Let me tell Mr. Grevenkop, that I am his humble servant. My wife will answer his letter, and speak for herself.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Argeville, July 5th, 1743.

It is true, my dear Lord, that I stayed four or five days at Calais by complaisance, for persons to whose civilities I could not refuse it, and in order to finish my Jesuit's Bark, before I took post for Paris. The first of these reasons kept me at Paris three days, which were two more than I intended. I saw our young academists, and had reports, such

as may be depended on, made me of their behaviour. I saw nothing, and I heard nothing about them, but what gave me pleasure. I know you will share this pleasure with me; and I have wrote to my Lord[1] Privy Seal, that he may do so too. It was, I think, by the same post, that I wrote to your Lordship, to put you in mind of writing even by the common post, and to set you the example. I hope my letter is come to your hands, though I have the satisfaction to find, that you wanted no spur to begin a correspondence, that will be the only foreign circumstance, if I may so [say], which can add to the comforts of my solitude.

I inclined very much to believe, and am glad I was not mistaken, that the gentleman you mention would be of our opinion. It seems to me, that no man of sense, who sees things as they are, and weighs them without throwing humor or self-interest into the scale, can be of another. As for the inclosure[2] of Penge Common, I see where it sticks on one side, which must of necessity make it stick on the other. It was certainly right to tell the tenants, who hung off, that the common might be divided without their consent; but, although

[1] Lord Gower.

[2] This refers evidently to some secret political negociation then going on in England. In the following year the party, to which Lord Bolingbroke was attached, joined the Pelhams, and with them formed the Broad-bottom Administration. The communications here adverted to were probably between those who, in 1744, so united themselves. They are adverted to again in Lord Bolingbroke's letters of the 17th and 26th of July, 1743.

this insinuation may have made them drop some of their demands, no advance is made as long as they insist on another, which it is not possible for the tenants they are in treaty with to grant. The affair is of consequence, of greater perhaps than either side apprehends. When I was on the spot, it warmed me; but I shall grow indifferent to it, as I do daily more and more to everything except private friendship.

By what our itinerant friend[1] writes, he is, I suppose, gone to the Bath, to which place you will be so kind as to forward a letter I will send you for him in a post or two. When we shall meet, my dear Lord, I know not. There are circumstances, that may determine me to visit your island; there are others, that may attach me to the Continent; in the mean while let us have frequently the comfort of absent friends; let us hear frequently from each other. Adieu! all Argeville salutes all Battersea.

Mr. Pope to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

So it is, and so it always is with me, that I write last to those I love most; and now by this rule you are the man I love the very best; the truth is, I have nothing to tell them, but what they (I flatter myself) know beyond all others, my real sensibility

[1] Probably Lord Chesterfield.

towards them, and my knowledge of their amiable qualities. One must necessarily tell them the same things, if one continues the same affection and esteem; therefore I turn from that honest tautology to some foreign subject; and what more foreign from you than a worthless man of quality, whose death has filled me with philosophy, and contempt of riches? Three hundred thousand pounds the sum total of his life! without one worthy deed, public or private! He had just sense enough to *see* the bad measures we were engaged in, without the heart to *feel* for his country, or spirit to oppose what he condemned, as long as a title, or a ribbon, or a little lucrative employment could be got by his tame submission and concurrence. He loved nobody, for (they say) he has not left a legacy, not even to his flatterers; he had no ambition, with a vast deal of pride, and no dignity, with great stateliness. His titles only must be his epitaph; and there can be nothing on his monument remarkable, except his nose, which, I hope, the statuary will do justice to.

I should doubly congratulate our victory[1] over the French, if the war would occasion you and me the recovery of our friend[2] to England for ever. Pray how will that matter stand in his regard? I should be glad, either that your Lordship was but half master of Battersea, or I of Twickenham. I was upon the point of writing to him; but will

[1] At Dettingen. [2] Lord Bolingbroke.

there be a free passage for letters at present? He is a great man, but will never be worth three hundred thousand pounds; yet I would rather regain him, and live with him, three hundred thousand times. My Lord Chesterfield is here, and sends you his services; there is not one man at Bath besides, whom I know. He has made me dine with him *en malade*, though my physician prescribes me garlick, which I choose to take in sauces rather than electuaries. He tells me, your Lordship is got a-head of all the gardening Lords; that you have distanced Lord Burlington and Lord Cobham, in the true scientific post; but he is studying after you, and has here lying before him those Thesauruses from which, he affirms, you draw all your knowledge, Miller's Dictionaries; but I informed him better, and told him, your chief lights were from Johannes Serlius, whose books he is now inquiring for of Leake the bookseller, who has wrote for them to his correspondents. I never was more at ease in my life than in this place; and yet I wish myself with you every other day at least.

There are many hours I could be glad to talk to (or rather to hear) the Duchess of Marlborough. So many incidents happen, besides what Providence seems to have any regard to, in the lives and deaths of great men, that the world appears to me to be made for the instruction of the lesser only, and those great ones for our laughter; only I must except, that I hear very good things of the Earl of

Bath[1], which justly entitle him to admiration. I could listen to her with the same veneration and belief in all her doctrines, as the disciples of Socrates gave to the words of their master, or he himself to his demon (for, I think, she too has a devil, whom in civility we will call a genius). I will judge of nothing, till I see her. Believe me, my dear Lord,

Your ever obliged, ever affectionate servant,

A. POPE[2].

Bath, Tuesday night.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Argeville, July 17th, 1743.

Yours of the 27th of the last month, O. S., came to my hands by the last post, my Lord, and gave great pleasure both to me and to the woman of this house, who could never belong to me, if she had not all the honor she has for your Lordship. As to those private affairs you speak of, they go much as I apprehended they would go. I am sorry for it. I will meddle in them no more, and will try to think of them as little. You are my witness, that I may take this resolution very justifiably.

[1] Mr. Pulteney, created Earl of Bath.

[2] As this letter refers to the battle of Dettingen, which took place on the 26th June, 1743, as a matter of recent congratulation, it must have been written within a few weeks after that event; another reference in it is to an event, which happened early in July 1743.

That your troops engaged in the late action on the Mein were inferior in number to the French that engaged, and that you had the disadvantage of the ground, are, I believe, two mistakes. You might have had this disadvantage, it is said, if the impetuosity of the French had not carried them too fast, and too far on. Your troops[1] behaved by all accounts extremely well; but by the most impartial, the difference was great between the behavior of your foot, and of your horse, to the former of which your success is wholly ascribed. Germany is evacuated; and the pacification of the empire seems at hand: but the Queen of Hungary seems to be about opening a new scene of war[2]. When shall we see a more amiable scene, that of peace, my Lord, begin to open? I know your Lordship enough, and the warmth of your friendship, to be sure that you perceive I am absent. Others may perceive it too; and I am not at a loss to determine the difference between these perceptions, and the sentiments they

[1] The King of Prussia, Frederick the Second, writing in that spirit of personal enmity, which unfortunately prevailed between him and his relation, George the Second, describes him somewhere as having remained on foot at the head of his guards, with his sword drawn, and in a fencing position, during the battle of Dettingen. But a letter, written by an eyewitness to the King's conduct in that field, testifies to the great personal exertions he made, as well as to the active and undaunted courage, of which he there gave a brilliant example.—See Coxe's 'Pelham Administration,' 4to., vol. i. p. 69; and the 'Gentleman's Magazine for July 1743,' p. 387.

[2] He possibly had then heard of the Queen of Hungary's views upon Naples, for means of compensating the Emperor.

raise. Let me give you a little commission. A neighbor and friend of mine, who is a great planter, has heard of a red Virginia oak, the mast or acorns of which are to be had at London; and I think my Lord Chesterfield once told me, he had planted great numbers of these trees. My request is, that your Lordship would procure me a reasonable quantity of these acorns, which may be consigned to Monsieur du Roquet at Calais; and that you would send me some instructions, if any particular care or culture be necessary. Adieu;—I expect a letter soon from you in answer to my last; and, when I answer it, I will send you some lines, in prose I mean, for our friend Pope.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Argeville, July 26th, 1743.

I acknowledge yours of the 6th of the month, O. S., which the last post brought me very faithfully yesterday. I know, my Lord, that some at least of your horse behaved very ill in the late action; and their condemnation seems aggravated by the good behaviour of your foot[1], who are as raw warriors as the others.

[1] There are probably no troops in Europe, which have uniformly shewn so obstinate and desperate a valor against a foreign foe as the British infantry; and this has been the case whether it has been ill or well led, whether com-

I neither rejoice at my Lord Wilmington's[1] death, nor lament it; for he was neither my friend, nor, I believe, my enemy. I am as indifferent about the succession to his immense wealth. But the succession to his post is of more importance, and admits of less indifference. As to the division of Penge Common, it is plainly a common interest;

posed of raw or veteran soldiers. The gallant and scientific historian of the 'Seven Years' War,' the Prussian Colonel Tempelhof, after narrating the exploits of the eight British and two Hanoverian battalions, which drove successive bodies of the enemy's horse and foot before them at Minden, declares, that they must excite in all nations the patriotic wish, 'May our infantry be 'such as these valiant troops!'

But it must strike even an unprofessional man, that cavalry is an arm so ticklish and difficult to manage, that however brave it may be, not only its credit, but its safety, must depend much on the skill, quickness, and accuracy of eye, and presence of mind, as well as on the courage of him who commands it. And thus history shews, how very small the number of good leaders of cavalry has been, in comparison with that of able infantry generals. Infantry can act offensively and defensively on all sorts of ground, and protect itself against all enemies; but cavalry often can do neither. As the cavalry general should be ready to employ it, and vigorously, on due opportunities, so should he equally know how to keep it out of harm's way until he can use it, and then not to misuse it. As to the requisite qualities of head and heart he should add activity of body, and good and bold horsemanship, it will be easily understood, why an eminent leader of large bodies of cavalry is seldom found.

Warnery observes, that whilst infantry sometimes falls off, cavalry improves in the course of a war. And thus we find the British cavalry under its gallant and able chief, Sir John Ligonier, behaving with the highest valor, and rendering important services to the army in the unsuccessful battles of Fontenoy, Roucoux, and Lauffeldt. A friend of Hugh Lord Marchmont, then a regimental, and afterwards a well-known general officer, told him, that the British cavalry, in which he served, rode down that of the enemy at Lauffeldt, and crushed it with irresistible power; that their horses sank beneath the impulse of the weight and speed of the English.

[1] First Lord of the Treasury, who died on the 2d of this month. Mr. Pelham obtained his office.

but as I can do nothing in it, I will say nothing of it. I shall write to you from this place no more for some time. It is probable, my next may be dated from Brussels. Physicians and friends have determined me at last to go to Aix la Chapelle for the use of the baths. The truth is, that I still feel the remains of the rheumatism I had last year, and even more than I did, when I was with you. This makes me apprehend the return of the winter, and resolve to eradicate, before that season comes, if I can, this obstinate humor. When you see my Lord Privy Seal, be pleased to make my compliments to him. The academists have indeed given me much satisfaction; and I hope to have that of seeing them here for a day or two before I set out, as I propose doing in a fortnight at farthest. Adieu, my dear Lord. Our best wishes attend you and yours.

Sarah Duchess of Marlborough to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

August 16th, 1743.

My Lord,

I sent to Mr. Sharpe to inquire about the estate your Lordship gave me an account of; but he is not in town, and I do not know when he will

come. By the account you gave me of it, I should like to buy it, because it is near other estates that I have near Windsor. Therefore I desire your Lordship would be so good as to let me know, whom I can send to concerning this estate, and where they live; but I will have nothing to do with Mr. ———. For besides all that I know of his proceedings formerly in my Lady Blandford's case, notwithstanding the monstrous and ridiculous decree, that the judge made, ——— protracted passing it all he could, and insisted on the Register's adding, after the particular deductions specified to be made in the decree, words that were not in the decree; all which gave me a great deal of trouble to hinder the Register's being thus imposed upon. But at last it was passed just in the manner that it was made. People that make use of this ———, I suppose, call this being a zealous man for his client; but I am sure, I would never desire any lawyer to do anything like that for me. And if I were a judge, I would punish any man that attempted it; for I think it is full as bad as forgery. What trick they will play next in this affair, I do not know; but I am very sure, whenever the trial is heard, the trust side will make a great figure, if the lawyers will dare to say anything, that they see the judge has no mind to hear; which, it is plain to me, few of them like to do. . . . . .

. . . I do not know, whether it is necessary or

not to caution you not to tell what I have written to those that have so much kindness for ———; for I think it is better, that he nor his friends should not know what will appear in this infamous cause. As you gave me hopes of seeing you soon, I will trouble you no more now, but conclude, when I have assured you without any flourishes, that I am

Your Lordship's most faithful, and
Most obliged, humble servant,
S. MARLBOROUGH.

Sarah Duchess of Marlborough to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Aug. 21st, 1743.

My Lord,

You make an apology for troubling me with my own business, which you are so good as to take pleasure in assisting me in. But I find, the person who first gave you an account of this estate made a very different relation of it from what it really is; for he had told you, that it would be sold very cheap, and that it was at 25,000*l.*, and that the estate would produce 1000*l.* a year. The total of the lands is 895*l.* 6*s.* a year, and at a very high rate the acre, which it is possible there may be

lands, that may be worth so much; and it may not let for half of it. But that is a thing not to be decided any way but by examination. Then there is outgoings to be deducted out of that of 41*l.* 10*s.* 10½*d.*; that brings it to 853*l.* 15*s.* 7½*d.*; and, besides this deduction, there is land in hand valued at 229*l.* 10*s.* a year. I have never found that the land in hand valued by the seller added much to the purchaser. The houses are valued at 265*l.* 19*s.* a year, which, to be sure, as it is a ruined estate upon mortgage, cannot be worth ten years' purchase: and, from all the experience I have had in purchases, I dare say, this estate will never bring in 500*l.* a year, for which they ask 30,000*l.*, and timber to be valued. But, as an encouragement to this purchase, they throw in the gardens and materials, being worth 1000*l.*, which, it is not probable, are worth anything but to burn. Then there is another article of what I am to gain by inclosing, 100*l.* a year; and that is entirely an imagination, which would never be done; and if it were, perhaps would cost two or three hundred a year to compass it. Not hearing from your Lordship, I sent a servant to find out the steward, that belongs to Sir Thomas Reynell, to ask some questions, not owning from whom he came. He is not returned; but I am sure, he will not be able to tell me anything, that will be of use in this purchase, which I can never have any thought of making. But I must give your Lordship a great many thanks

for your friendship and readiness to assist me upon all occasions, who am

Your Lordship's most obliged, and
Most humble servant,
S. MARLBOROUGH[1].

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Brussels, Aug. 25th, 1743.

Having an opportunity of writing to your Lordship by my Lord Chetwynd, whom I found here, and who is on his return home, I cannot neglect it, as little as I have to say. I am lame; my wife has lost the use almost entirely of one hand. We are going to the pool of Bethesda, and we shall soon see, whether the angel will descend and stir the water for us. I take my resolution of bearing the ills, I cannot prevent nor remedy, as well as another. But physical evils put philosophy to the hardest trial; and instead of crying out, like the stoic, 'Gout, do thy worst; I will never confess that 'thy pain is an evil,' I confess, that it is a great one, and that a rheumatism causes much perturba-

[1] The lady calculating thus clearly and closely was at this time eighty-three years of age. She died in the year following.

tion of mind as well severe bodily sensations. You might expect news from this place; but there is none; and what the two armies are doing, I know no more than you do. I am willing to believe, that no time is lost, which might be improved. But, certain it is, the time that we lose the French gain; and in that circumstance they place their greatest hopes. Observe by what passes, my Lord, whether they, who thought more than thirty years ago, that the only way of reducing really the exorbitant power of France was to lay her frontier open[1], and therefore the sacrifice she was willing to make of so many strong places both in the Low Countries and on the Rhine, should have been accepted, were much in the wrong. After having carried her arms to the walls of Vienna, and threatened an entire subversion of the system of power in Europe, and after having been defeated in her unjust and dangerous design, she draws her forces behind her barrier, and hopes to escape being treated by others, as she has often, and may always at this rate treat her neighbors. Whether we shall treat her so, I determine not; but this I think, that we have little chance of doing it another year, if we do not make a breach this year in her brazen wall. The entire disposition of the people of Lorraine may facilitate

[1] When the breach was nearly effected in that brazen wall by the Duke of Marlborough, the very writer of this letter, and Harley, were the men who, by stopping his victorious career, abandoning the cause of Europe, and betraying our allies, brought down all the miseries, which the world has since endured from the ambition of France.

this. But if a siege be necessary, as I apprehend it is, we seem to be in no great readiness for it, since cannon and ammunition are to be brought from London and Hanover for it; and the former is got no further than this place at this time. What shall we say of the affair of Dettingen? It was a victory unpursued; but was it not an escape too? Our infantry did well; but our horse are the jest[1] of friends and enemies. I hear with grief on all hands the contempt in which they are held. . .

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Is it delay only, or is there any dispute about filling

[1] Lord Bolingbroke proceeds to reflect with much asperity on the conduct of a particular corps. But a statement made by the late Earl of Marchmont of the facts of the mischance, which befel at Dettingen the distinguished regiment thus disadvantageously mentioned, exonerates it from the blame imputed to it, and makes it appear, that it arose from its commanding officer having been destitute of that promptness and sagacity, with which the officer, who commanded the corps opposed to it, conformed his conduct to the circumstances in which he was placed. The English regiment found itself opposite to the French 'gardes du corps,' whose privates were all noble, and whose horses were the finest in their service. The fronts of the two regiments were separated by an interval so small, as to preclude the possibility of their attacking each other by the regular gradations of pace, the walk, the trot, the gallop, and the charge. The French commanding officer seeing this ordered his men to drop the points of their swords, whilst they breathed a short prayer, then to carry them, and to charge at the top of their speed. Whilst this was doing, the Englishman had put his regiment in motion according to rule at a walk, and, advancing with trumpets sounding, was about to command it to trot, when the headlong onset of the enemy burst upon it, and of necessity broke and scattered it.

The conduct of this regiment was conspicuously brilliant at Fontenoy in 1745. Indeed it is stated in a letter from an officer of foot, who was present at the battle of Dettingen, and saw the rout of that corps, that it fought bravely at the end of the day.

the late Lord Wilmington's post? I thought there could be no competition for it with Mr. P.[1] I shall stay at Aix all the next month. If you write to me in that time, be pleased to direct your letter to me under cover to Monsieur Mathias Nettine, banquier, Brussels. Adieu, my dear and honored Lord.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Aix la Chapelle, Aug. 31st, 1743.

I arrived here the 28th with all my baggage by very slow marches; and I found your Lordship's letter of the 5th, O. S., waiting for me. One of mine will be soon delivered to you by my Lord Chetwynd[2], whom I met at Brussels. I am determined to go through all the forms of drinking, bathing, pumping, and sweating, in hopes to preserve the use of my limbs some little time longer. It is not of much importance to the world, nor to me, how much I live; but it is of great importance, to me at least, to live that much or little with a clear head, and sound limbs. Hitherto we act as auxili-

[1] Mr. Pelham, who succeeded Lord Wilmington.

[2] Member for Stafford. He was one of the members in opposition, who withdrew on Mr. Sandys's motion for the removal of Sir Robert Walpole.

aries to the Queen of Hungary, and may in that character attack the French dominions without being in actual war with France, as well as the French attacked those of Austria, without being in actual war with the Queen of Hungary, which they disclaimed, when they were within six leagues of Vienna. It seems therefore, that we may do as much towards reducing France to our terms, whatever they are, without a declaration of war, as with it; and I know not, whether the French councils may not think, that a declaration of war on our part would be for their service more than the present scheme. They seem to provoke it by the attack on us at Dettingen, and by restoring the fortifications of Dunkirk; and they seem to prepare for it particularly by taking off one part of the claims of the Admiral of France on their privateers. They flatter themselves, that if we declare the war, the nation will engage unwillingly without the Dutch, and the Dutch will not take a part in it. The truth is, that their divisions[1], and the awkward manner in which they proceed at this time, give room enough to make such a judgment. Thus much in answer to the political part of your letter. As to myself, how fortune will

[1] The divisions in question were those existing between the partisans of the Prince of Orange and his opponents. The former were anxious to engage the Republic in vigorous hostilities against France. She however had very many friends amongst those, who were hostile to his pretensions, and who strove earnestly to prevent the Republic engaging in the war as a principal. The failure of Lord Stair's embassy to the Hague in April, 1743, and of Lord Carteret's in September of that year, was partly the result of their power and intrigues.

dispose of me, I know not. This only I know, that if I cannot have ease and stability in my retreat abroad, I had as good be at home, though it is one of the last places, where I would be.

I had forgot to tell you, that the King of Prussia has refused the passage, which the Czarina asked for 20,000 men to be sent to the assistance of the Queen of Hungary; and to desire you to look into the Utrecht gazette for the manifest published in the name of that Princess by Mentzel, a general of hussars, who has been detached before our army. You will find, that it threatens to dismember from France the two Alsaces, the three bishoprics[1], and all that France has dismembered formerly on that side from the empire.

Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?

Adieu, my dear Lord. Receive our best compliments and sincerest wishes for your prosperity, and for that of your whole family. You are very good to remember the scarlet oak acorns. When you send them, be pleased to advertise me, and to consign them to M. Duroquet for me.

[1] Metz, Toul, and Verdun.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

My Lord,

I answered your Lordship's letter of the 5th of August some time ago; and I have had since that the pleasure to receive those of the 25th of August and 2d of September. As few persons interest themselves less, than I do, in the affairs of the world, few persons are less curious to know what passes in it. But the present moment is so very critical, that I confess myself to have more than ordinary curiosity about domestic and foreign transactions.

You[1] mention in one of your letters certain circumstances relatively to a late promotion, that surprise me a little, though I am not at a loss to discern from whence they spring; and you say in the other, that in all probability something must happen, that will encourage one of the parties at war to be unreasonable, when the other desires peace. I understand this of our parties at home; and it does not surprise me, for the seeds of division are always sowing in our unhappy island, whilst those of union remain unsown, or uncultivated, or are choaked by sour weeds, before they get strength,

[1] Mr. Pelham was informed, that he was to be the First Lord of the Treasury, by a letter from Lord Carteret of the 16th August, 1743, his Lordship professing in it to acquiesce in the King's determination against Lord Bath, whose pretensions, he avowed, he had strenuously supported. The King was then with the army in Germany, and Lord Carteret was with him.

and push up to maturity. The same has happened in other countries, free, though corrupt, like ours; but there are examples in them of parties uniting in great emergencies. Is it in the fate of Britain never to produce an example of this kind? Shall the sole consideration in all our party treaties be about persons and employments? Shall a concurrence of opinion about public measures become at no time a principle of union? I will presume to say, that the present crisis deserves the most serious, and the most unprejudiced consideration of every man, who wishes the good of our country. We might have done too little; we may do too much. There is a mean, which men, who are well informed, and neither heated by disappointment, nor hurried on by the loose declamations of party, may discern, and which it is of the utmost importance that our councils should observe.

Our true interests require, that we should take few engagements on the Continent, and never those of making a land war, unless the conjuncture be such, that nothing less than the weight of Britain can prevent the scales of power from being quite overturned. This was the case surely, when we armed in the Netherlands, and when we marched into Germany[1]. The first did some good, and, as it was managed,

[1] The British troops began their march from Flanders at the end of February 1743. The Duke of Newcastle asserts to Lord Hardwicke, that Lord Stair put them in motion without any order. They encamped on the Mayn in the month of May following.

some hurt. It divided the attention of France, and became a reason the more for recalling the army of Maillebois. But the fierce memorials, with which it was accompanied, and which breathed an immediate and direct war against France, frightened those, whom our arming should have encouraged, and gave much advantage to the French[1] in the Seven Provinces. The last, I mean our march to the Mayn, and the vast diversion we made by it, has had a full effect. The Bavarians are reduced to a neutrality, and the French, who threatened Vienna, to the defence of their own provinces. The defensive war, the Queen of Hungary made on that side, is therefore at an end, strictly speaking; and your Lordship may think perhaps, that, this being so, the case, wherein alone Great Britain ought to make war on the Continent, exists no longer. It is, I own, very provoking to see, that the French are able at any time to invade their neighbors, to give the law if they succeed, and not to receive it if they fail, but to retire behind their barrier, and defy from thence the just resentment of the enemies they have made; and yet we ought to consider very coolly, how far we suffer this provocation to have any share in determining our conduct in the present circumstances. I have seen the time, when the French would have given up the very barrier, that secures them now. We would not take it then. Can we force it now? I said

[1] The French party averse to the war, and to the Prince of Orange.

once, that Bouchain had cost our nation above six millions; and they, who were angry at the assertion, could not contradict it, since Bouchain was the sole conquest of 1711, and since the expence of that year's war amounted to little less. Are we able to purchase at such a rate? or do we hope to purchase at a cheaper, when my Lord Marlborough and Prince Eugene are no more? I hear your Lordship's answer at this distance; but I believe, you will hear soon another language from a friend of ours. It is said, that my Lord Stair has drawn up a long and a strong memorial; and that he has sent a copy of it to my Lord Chesterfield. I have been his friend and servant near forty years, and am sorry with all my heart, that he has had no better success in his embassy[1], and at the head of the army[2]. His conduct in the field will no doubt be fully explained in the memorial; and we shall comprehend then, what no man comprehends yet, how we came into such a situation on the Mein, that the French had it in their power to starve us, or to oblige us to hew out our way to bread, and to the reinforcements we expected, through the greatest difficulties; and how, when their folly, and the vigor of an handful of foot, had routed them, this

[1] When Lord Stair received the command of the British army forming in Flanders in 1742, he was sent as ambassador extraordinary to Holland, to endeavor to prevail on the Dutch to send troops to join that army, which he failed to do. The inactivity of the army after the battle of Dettingen was one of his causes for resigning the command of it.

[2] At Dettingen.

advantage was not improved on our part. Is it impossible, that some further reasons against engaging in an offensive land war may arise from such a detail? Those, that arise from the state of our country, from that of Holland, and from the present disposition of Prussia, and other powers, are already obvious enough. Upon the whole, a man may be very consistently for acting with vigor, whilst he has his arms in his hands, and for not acting beyond a certain point, at which he is willing on reasonable terms to lay them down.

Our friend, Lord Stair, whose spirit you know, was certainly for the first; but I incline to think, that his views of continuing the war may be rather indefinite, than fixed on a point proportionate to our strength, and to the present situation of Europe. In all cases, even in this of confining our efforts, we shall have a very nice game to play, for if our friends, the Austrians, would take advantage of too much facility to continue the war, our enemies, the Spaniards and the French, would certainly take advantage of too much haste to conclude it. This reflection becomes the more important, because the war, we have with Spain, seems more likely to be determined in Italy, than in America; and somewhere or other it must be determined to our advantage. We are told here very positively, that the definitive treaty[1] between the Queen of Hun-

[1] Signed at Worms on the 13th September, 1743, between England, Austria and Sardinia.

gary and the King of Sardinia is at last signed. In this case we may hope, that the Spaniards, though the French lend them some succours, will not be able to penetrate into Italy; and Lobkowitz[1] may be easily reinforced, now the blockades of Egra, and Ingolstadt, as well as Straubingen, are over, to such a strength, as will drive Gages'[2] army before him, till the crown totters on the head of Don Carlos[3]. Then, I suppose, the Queen of Spain, and not till then, will be forced to compound to save Naples and Sicily for one son, instead of aiming at further acquisitions for another. In all events, my dear Lord, and whatever peace we make, it will become an indispensable point of policy to be on our guard, after what has happened, against the joint ambition of the two branches of Bourbon, whom no acquisitions can satisfy, nor any treaties bind, and who have begun to act in late instances, as the two branches of Austria did in the last century. The treaty of quadruple alliance, and a long course of timid, unmeaning negociations, unmeaning relatively to the interest of Great Britain, have encouraged this spirit. A contrary conduct must check it; and I will venture to say, that, the peace once made on terms less exorbitant, than

[1] Who commanded the Austrians in Italy, relieving General Count Traun in September 1743.

[2] Count Gages commanded in Italy the Spaniards, who were driven by the Austrians to the Neapolitan frontier.

[3] King of Naples, who in 1744 broke his neutrality, and joined the Spaniards, which compelled the Austrians to retreat to the Milanese frontier.

some sanguine persons would expect, this may be done; and that vigor sufficient for this purpose will be found on the whole less expensive, with prudent management abroad, and honest economy at home, than the pusillanimity of that administration, which has made us despised by some of our neighbors, and distrusted by others, till France had a fair chance for giving the law to all Europe. But it is more than time that I should put an end to this political ramble. I mean it for you alone, and I am used to your indulgence. It is hardly possible, that you should write in answer to this letter, whilst I am in this country; and you will be cautious how you treat the same subject in any letter, that is to come to me in France. It seemed to me, by the little conversation I had with some of your ministers when I was at London, that their way of thinking was not very distant from mine, about foreign affairs at least. Great Britain must have a peace, my Lord. Her ability to carry on this war, as little as it is, is greater, in my opinion, than that of France. But there are other invincible reasons against it. I repeat therefore, we must have a peace as soon as possible. To have a good one, vigor in your measures, and moderation in your views, are, I suppose, equally necessary. I will write to your Lordship once more, before I leave this place, which may be in about ten or twelve days. I shall go back to my hermitage; and I am not yet able to say, when I may make another excursion from it. Adieu, my dear Lord.

Aix, September 25th, 1743.

Since I wrote this letter, I have come to the resolution of leaving this place the 7th of October, that is, Monday sennight, and shall not get to Brussels till the Wednesday afterwards, where I may stay a day or two, that is, till the 11th or 12th of October. I shall be glad to find a letter from you in Mr. Nettine's hands.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Aix-la-Chapelle, Sept. 28th, 1743.

I have just time, before the going away of the post, to tell you, that letters from Worms bring us a certain account that Prince Charles[1] forced his passage over the Rhine last Monday the 23d, with the loss of about 7000 men. But the same letters, that own this loss, say, that the French must have lost more, the croates, pandours, and hussars having made great havoc among them in their rout. Prince Charles was very pressing, that the King would hasten to his assistance, which makes us conclude, that Noailles, who had quitted his entrenchments by the letters of yesterday, though we knew not why, was marched to support Coigny. This news came to the King on Tuesday night; and he marched

[1] Of Lorraine, commanding the Austrian army.

Wednesday[1] the 25th, by three in the morning. We may probably expect another action soon. God give us success and peace.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Aix-la-Chapelle, Oct. 2d, 1743.

My Lord,

I take up my pen to-day, that I may contradict what I writ to you by Saturday's post. All the letters, that came from Worms that morning, concurred in the report, and in all the circumstances of it. Nobody here doubted of the truth of it; but the report was groundless; and Prince Charles is yet on the other side of the Rhine. I say yet, because I am persuaded he will attempt again to pass that river; and because it is possible, though difficult, to succeed. Some men think that which is difficult impossible. He is one of those, who think it only difficult. Our King is marched to Spire, for the Marquis of Noailles is at Lauterbourg, and has abandoned the camp he had made inexpugnable.

[1] Prince Charles recrossed the Rhine, and put his army into winter-quarters in Germany. The allied army demolished the entrenchments, which the enemy had raised on the Quiech, and then went into winter-quarters also, the English, the Hanoverians paid by England, and the Austrians attached to the British army, marching to Flanders.

It is whispered, that a treaty[1] with the Emperor, by which that Prince withdrew himself wholly from the French, and threw himself entirely into the hands of the allies, is broke off by the silence of our court, who made no answer at all to the communications from his Imperial Majesty. Whether this be true or not, it seems certain, that our King washes his hands of all mediation in the affairs of the empire. Does your Lordship think, the King of Prussia will do so too? I cannot help mentioning to you a discourse held by a sensible foreigner, who is far from being a friend to France, of which I was a witness, and which was in fact addressed to me as a British subject. 'All the territories of the empire,' said he, 'are now evacuated by the French; but the 'Spaniards have not evacuated Italy. The French 'have joined Don Philip[2], in order to break into 'Lombardy; and it is little to be doubted, but that 'the Neapolitan army will join that of Gages, not-'withstanding the terrors of the British fleet. In the 'meanwhile the definitive treaty is signed between 'the King of Great Britain, the Queen of Hungary, 'and the King of Sardinia. Is it not an obvious 'consequence of all this, that to obtain the true

[1] The whisper here mentioned must have taken its rise in some knowledge of the Convention of Hanau, and of its rejection by the British government having got abroad.

[2] Don Philip, with the Spanish army in Savoy, failed in his attempts to break into Piedmont during the year 1743. The joint operations of the Spaniards and French against the Sardinians, on the side of Nice, began in March 1744.

'objects of the war, and those particularly of Great 'Britain, the scene of great military efforts should 'be changed? When Prince Charles has passed the 'Rhine, do you hope to conquer Alsace, and other 'provinces? The enterprise seems chimerical, not 'so much on account of the councils and arms of 'France, as on account of the confused state of the 'empire, and of the divisions that distract both Eng-'land and Holland. Do you mean only to levy con-'tributions, and to devast the French frontier? You 'mean then a war of hussars, or a war of revenge, 'of humor, of anger; and to pursue this war you 'will neglect or starve another, on the speedy and 'happy turn of which the entire defeat of French and 'Spanish ambition depends.' Much more was said; thus much I remember; and I submit the reasoning to your Lordship's judgment. I hope, that a letter of the 25th September has found its way to your Lordship. My departure from hence remains fixed for the 7th; and, about the 11th or 12th, I shall set out from Brussels on my return home. Adieu, my dear Lord. The crisis is great. God grant it be well conducted. If any common friend inquires after me, make my compliments to him.

I cannot resolve to seal my letter without adding one word. If you see and foresee, that disputes about John à Nokes and John à Stiles will prevail this year as they did the last, and that union or disunion about the greatest national interests will turn on this despicable point, bid me continue in

my retreat. If you see a prospect of uniting on principles of conduct for the interest and honor of Britain, and if you and three or four of my friends think I can be any way serviceable in the scheme, I will come to you, though I came on crutches.

Shall I provide any wine for you? Tell Lord Chesterfield, that his champaigne will be provided.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Aix-la-Chapelle, Oct. 5th, 1743.

If my letters have come to your hands, my dear Lord, you have had lately one of the 25th September, another of the 28th, and one of the 2d of this month, in which you will have seen much of my opinion concerning the present situation, and the application to it of those general principles of policy, which ought always to govern the councils of Great Britain relatively to wars on the continent. But this is not the only reason, why I shall say less to your Lordship, than I intended, in answer to yours of the 16th of the last month, O. S., which lies before me. I have altered my project of march on several considerations. I shall not set out from hence the 7th, nor go directly back to my hermitage in France. It will be about the middle of the month,

before I leave Aix; and my course shall be directed to Battersea. The time of my stay in England will depend on several contingencies; and if I could be, with your approbation, a part of your family at Battersea, as Wyndham used to be a part of mine at Dawley, I would have no other habitation, whilst I remain in your strange country. My intention is to embark at Calais more conveniently, than I could do at Ostend; and I write word to M. du Roquet, that I hope to be there about the 22d or 23d of this month. Your Lordship, who knows the disordered state of my private affairs, knows better than another how necessary it is, that I should continue to give some attention to them. Adieu, my dear and honored Lord.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Calais, Wednesday, Oct. 23d, 1743.

My Lord,

I came hither yesterday, and found Clarabut's vessel ready to sail on Friday next, so that if the weather, which is actually unfavourable enough, permit, I may hope to get as high as Greenwich on Friday or Saturday. Of this I endeavor to give you notice according to your desire; and if any vessel gets out of the port to-day, you will have it; for as soon as such vessel arrives at Dover, my

letter will be put into the post. If this expedient fails me, I think to stop at Greenwich, and send for your Lordship's coach to carry me to you. I do not care to pass through London; and I am desirous to embrace you, the sooner the better. There is an article in your letter, that gives me joy and spirit. Adieu, my dear and honored Lord. If you had not filled the place Wyndham held in my heart, no man else could have filled it. I desire my best respects may be presented to my Lady; and I am much Mr. Grevenkop's servant.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Sunday.

My dear Lord,

I have but a moment, in which to thank you for yours, and to tell you, that I desire to go to-morrow to see Pope, at the same time as you go, for which purpose I will be at Battersea by nine or ten o'clock. If you employ your coach otherwise, let me know it, and I will come with four horses to you. We may dine at Battersea at our return, and I hope to lie there.

Adieu, ever your most faithful,

B.

I shall be able to tell you some news to-morrow, and, I fear, bad.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Friday.

My dear Lord,

I thank you for yours, which I have communicated to my solicitor, and expect his answer. In all events, I will be at Twickenham on Sunday morning; and, I confess, I should be for letting Ward see Pope, and prescribe to him. Grevenkop will tell you what news and rumors are about. The crisis is terrible[1]—much to be feared—little to be hoped. God help us!

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

London, Tuesday Morning.[2]

Pope desires me to carry him to Battersea to-morrow. Let me have your chariot to-morrow

[1] This letter, it is to be supposed, was written under the apprehension of invasion from France in the winter of 1744. This danger came very suddenly on the English nation, and in a very formidable shape. The same tone of fear prevails in this letter as in that of the 29th of February, 1744, on any of the Fridays of which month it may have been written, as the first news of the junction of the French squadrons off Ushant reached London on Thursday the 2d; and the last-mentioned letter shews, that the alarm was in full force at the date of it.

[2] It is not easy to understand the date of this letter. Sir John Norris sailed up Channel with the fleet under his command from St. Helen's on Tuesday

before ten. The French are in Flemish Road, Sir John Norris by this time in the Downs, or very near. Adieu, my dear Lord. I make my bow to Lady Marchmont, and am much a servant to Mr. Carre, and to our *malade, qui se porte bien.*

I shall drink your health to-day with Lord Stair.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Wednesday, near Two, Feb. 29th, 1743-4.

I have kept this boy till now, but am able to send you no news. The worst is to be feared[1]. If you send me your coach by eleven to-morrow, I will hasten to you. Adieu, my dear Lord and friend.

the 14th February, 1744, with a view to counteract the operations of M. de Roquefeuille, who was proceeding to the eastward with the Brest and Rochefort squadrons, in order to cover the projected invasion of England from Dunkirk, and the neighbouring French posts. Sir John Norris reached the Downs on Friday, the 17th February. It seems probable, that Lord Bolingbroke imagined Sir John Norris to have sailed from St. Helen's a day sooner than he did.

[1] The real danger of invasion was over, when the French combined squadrons fled down Channel before the English fleet under Sir John Norris on the 24th of this month, on discovering its superiority.

The Honourable William Murray to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

My dear Lord,

I asked Mr. P.[1] at Esher, what was done in relation to your friend; he told me, he had not staid for Sir W. Y.'s[2] return, but having occasion to lay some other commissions before the King, he had got his. Mr. P. could not tell me in what regiment it was, not having his memorandum in the country, but that he had taken particular care it should be in an old regiment; you will therefore give directions for taking out his commission.

I ought in justice to tell you, that, upon my word, I have not the least merit in this. Mr. P. was glad of an opportunity of shewing your Lordship his personal regard and respect, though in a trifling instance, and thought himself extremely obliged to you for giving him the occasion. I desire my compliments to Lord B.[3], and am, with great truth and esteem,

Your Lordship's most obedient
Humble servant,
W. MURRAY[4].

[1] Mr. Pelham. [2] Sir William Young, Secretary at War. [3] Lord Bolingbroke.

[4] The Honorable William Murray, younger son of Viscount Stormont, was appointed Solicitor-General in 1742, and Attorney-General in 1744. He was subsequently made Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and created Earl of Mansfield. He lived in intimacy with Lord Marchmont, Lord Bolingbroke, and Pope, as appears by a letter from the latter, dated Easter Monday. (See p. 331.)

Hugh Earl of Marchmont to the Hon. William Murray.

I return you ten thousand thanks, my dear Sir, for your kind attention. I am thoroughly sensible of the obligation I have to Mr. Pelham, and of the flattering manner, in which he does me the honor to represent it. The only return I can make him (for I will make him any in my power) is to pray, and I do it most fervently, that he may enable every honest man in the nation to concur in his support; that in the general interest his, in particular, may be included; and that he may want no party support, nor be deprived of the assistance of any useful man upon a party account. I think, I cannot pray better for him; and I am sure, I pray for no miracle. Were I to pray for one, it would be to have it in my power to testify in the most unequivocal manner my sense of Mr. Pelham's goodness. I hope you will (notwithstanding what you say in your letter) permit me to indulge myself in the pleasure of thinking, that I am obliged to you in this affair.

Lord B.[1] sends you his compliments *tout court*, because you are busy, though we be idle. For the same reason I shall only desire you to be persuaded, that I am, with the most sincere esteem,

Your most faithful, and obliged
Humble servant,

Battersea, April 3d, 1744. MARCHMONT.

[1] Lord Bolingbroke.

Mr. Pope to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Easter-Monday[1].

My dear Lords,

When I see a finer day, or feel a livelier hour, I find my thoughts carried to you, with whom, and for whom, chiefly I desire to live. I am a little revived to-day, and hope to be more so by the end of the week, since, I think, that was the time you gave me hopes you would pass a day or two here. Mr. Murray, by that time, or sooner if he can, will meet you. I hope Lord Bolingbroke has settled that with him in town.

Mr. Warburton[2] is very desirous to wait on you both. If he comes to Battersea in a morning, pray furnish him with my chaise to come on hither, and let the chaise be left here, of whose earthly part I shall make use in my garden, though not of its aquatic. My faithful services wait on Lady Marchmont.

[1] This letter, without date or signature, is directed to the Earl of Marchmont, Battersea; but is evidently addressed both to him, and to Lord Bolingbroke. It is probable, that it was written in 1744. He died on the 30th May of that year.

[2] Dr. Warburton, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, author of the Divine Legation of Moses.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Battersea, Monday.

My dear Lord,

The arrival of your servant with the message from Lord Stair gives me an opportunity of telling you, that I continue in the resolution, I mentioned to you last night, upon what you said to me from the Duchess of Marlborough. It[1] would be a breach of

The following passage occurs in Johnson's 'Life of Pope:'—

'He (Pope) left the care of his papers to his executors, the Earl of March-'mont and Lord Bolingbroke, whom undoubtedly he expected to be proud of 'the trust, and eager to extend his fame. But let no one ever dream of in-'fluence beyond his life. After a decent time, Dodsley the bookseller attended 'one of them to solicit preference as a publisher, and was told, the parcel was 'not yet inspected; and, whatever was the reason, the world has been disap-'pointed of what was reserved for the next age.'

This letter alone would shew, that this inculpation, as affecting Lord Marchmont, is wholly groundless. It is to Lord Marchmont that Lord Bolingbroke states a certain line of conduct, which he is ready to hold, and what line of conduct is forbidden him, under the exclusive power and controul over his papers committed to him by Pope. All, that Lord Marchmont feels himself authorised to do with regard to certain papers of his supposed to exist, is to convey to Lord Bolingbroke a message respecting them; and when Lord Bolingbroke declares, that he will destroy them, if ascertained to exist, the only part allotted to Lord Marchmont in the transaction is that of a witness of their destruction.

But it appears, that in the third edition of his 'Lives of the Poets,' Johnson substituted for the first sentence of the passage cited the following;—'Pope 'left the care of his papers to his executors; first, to Lord Bolingbroke, and, 'if he should not be living, to the Earl of Marchmont, undoubtedly expecting 'them to be proud of the trust.'

It is quite clear, not only that Johnson had not read Pope's will when he wrote his life, but not even when he had to qualify an assertion on a matter connected with that will in the third edition of it. From the last quoted statement of his it would be supposed, that Lord Marchmont and Lord Bolingbroke were the sole executors; but there were four executors, Lord Marchmont, Lord

that trust and confidence, which Pope reposed in me, to give any one such of his papers, as I think that no one should see. If there are any, that may be injurious to the late Duke, or to her Grace, even indirectly and covertly, as I hope there are not, they shall be destroyed; and you shall be a witness of their destruction. Copies of any such, I hope and believe, there are none abroad; and I hope the Duchess will believe I scorn to keep copies, when I destroy originals. I was willing you should have these assurances under the hand of, my dear Lord, your faithful and devoted

Humble servant,

BOLINGBROKE[1].

Bathurst, the Honorable William Murray, and George Arbuthnot; and Lord Bolingbroke was not of their number. Pope however left all his manuscript and unprinted papers to Lord Bolingbroke, 'committing them to his sole care and 'judgment, to preserve or destroy them; or, in case he should not survive him, 'to the above said Earl of Marchmont.' As Lord Bolingbroke survived Pope, he had those papers, which never came into Lord Marchmont's possession. Lord Marchmont complained of inaccurate statements made by Johnson in his Life of Pope, in despite of the information which he had afforded him, and which, he apprehended, would be laid to his charge, as it was known, that he had been in communication with that author respecting it.

[1] As Pope died on the 30th May 1744, this letter must have been written between that day and Lord Bolingbroke's departure for France.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Monday Morning.

Our friend Pope, it seems, corrected and prepared for the press just before his death an edition of the four Epistles, that follow the Essay on Man. They were then printed off, and are now ready for publication. I am sorry for it, because, if he could be excused for writing the character of Atossa formerly, there is no excuse for his design of publishing it, after he had received the favor[1] you and I

[1] At the bottom of the original letter, is written in Mr. Rose's handwriting in pencil, '£1000;' and this sum Lord Marchmont stated to be the favor received by Pope from the hands of the Duchess of Marlborough. Pope expresses himself as follows respecting the Duchess of Marlborough, in a letter to Swift of the 17th May, 1739; 'The Duchess of Marlborough 'makes great court to me; but I am too old for her, mind and body;' thus closing this intelligence by an insinuation, which is as coarse as it is groundless, and, from obvious circumstances, absurd. But in a later day his feelings towards her shew themselves plainly in a letter of his printed in this collection, which must have been written about July, 1743. The veneration, which Pope there professes for her Grace, is a demonstration made solely to give more point and effect to the expression of derision, and even aversion, which its last words distinctly breathe.

Her Grace's letter to Lord Marchmont of the 3d March 1742, shews how much she was afraid of Pope. She is alarmed lest her religious belief, if such it is to be called, should not be quite religious enough for him; and she begs his Lordship to 'endeavor to keep him her friend.' She was then well aware, that his friendship was held under a slippery tenure; and it seems probable, that her effort to secure it had been already made. After the evidence we have, how generous and munificent her friendship could be, as is evinced by her conduct to Lord Marchmont on his father's death, of which the proof is in her letter to him on that occasion, and by her legacies to Mr. Pitt and to Lord Chesterfield, it would be very unjust to assume, that her gift to Pope was under intimidation only. But Pope, crooked-minded, and impressed as he was to-

know; and the character of Atossa is inserted. I have a copy of the book. Warburton has the propriety of it, as you know. Alter it he cannot, by the terms of the will. Is it worth while to suppress the edition? or should her Grace's friends say, as they may from several strokes in it, that it was not intended to be her character? and should she despise it? If you come over hither, we may talk better than write on the subject. Adieu, my dear Lord[1].

wards her, was little likely to give her credit for disinterested kindness; he was too clear-sighted not to have discovered her apprehensions of him; and, fond of contriving and managing as he was, it would have been painful and humiliating to him to have been, in his own view of the matter, outwitted, outmanœuvred, and compelled to consent to have an object carried against him in despite of himself, and to forego a magnificent subject of satire, of which he had made himself thoroughly master, even under her own roof. He was sure, that in the caricature he had not missed the likeness, for he was in correspondence with her, and he frequented her house on a footing of much familiarity, facts which appear in her letter of the 15th March, 1742; so that he added an act of remarkable perfidy to the ingratitude he was guilty of towards his benefactress. He had made a splendid dissection of a rare and peculiar specimen, with all the avidity of professional eagerness, and could not endure to be baulked of the display of his exquisite anatomical skill. It may well have been, and one must hope it was so, that, carried away by the strength of these impulses of his mind, he committed this act of singular baseness and malignity, without allowing himself to recognise the deformity of the features, which it presents to the eye of the byestander.

[1] This letter must have been written after the preceding letter, but before Lord Bolingbroke left England. He wrote from Calais on the 18th June.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Wednesday, Two o'clock.

I shall be at home to-morrow at eleven; and if your Lordship comes to town, we will contrive to spend the greatest part of the day together. Pray let it be so; for I should be sorry to go to Dover without embracing you, though I expect to be soon back again. Menin taken, Ypres besieged; but the worst of all is, that the King of France behaves with great bravery and great popularity. Prince Charles[1] in full march to pass the Rhine, if he can.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Calais, June 18th, 1744.

My dear Lord,

Mr. Chetwynd will have told you, that I crossed the water, undetermined whether to go on to Aix, or to return to our island. All things considered, it appeared most eligible to take the latter

[1] Prince Charles crossed the Rhine with his army at two different places on the 1st of July, drove the Prince de Coigny up to Strasburgh, and was advancing through Lorraine, until recalled to the defence of the Austrian dominions, on the King of Prussia's new declaration of war, and invasion of Bohemia and Moravia. The Prince retired across the Rhine in September.

resolution, which I hope to execute in the beginning of the next week. Our motions will be slow for many unavoidable reasons, several measures being necessary to be taken in this case, which would have borne delay in that of going first to Aix-la-Chapelle; and though I return so soon, I am not sorry, that I came over hither on this account. As soon as I arrive at Dover, I will write to you again; and we design going to Mr. Chetwynd's house directly when at London. We cannot settle at Battersea, till we have received some more baggage, than we have here from Argeville, nor till we have provided ourselves with some necessaries on the spot. I go into my own country, as if I went into a strange country, and shall inhabit my own house, as if I lodged in an inn. It is unnecessary to trouble you with any further discourse at this time about such vagrants, as we are. Be pleased to make our best compliments to Lady Marchmont, and to believe, that you have not in the world two more devoted servants than the two persons, who hope to see you soon, and to forget in your company a thousand disagreeable circumstances of fortune and situation.

William Pitt, Esq. to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

My Lord,

Give me leave to return your Lordship my thanks for the obliging manner, in which you do me the honor to inform me of the Duchess of Marlborough's[1] great goodness to me. The sort of regard I feel for her memory, I leave to your Lordship's heart to suggest to you; besides the many reasons there are for bearing that regard to it, I hope, you have likewise some of the same, which she has been pleased to honor me with. This, and every other thing, that can add any advantage to your situation, I very truly wish you; and am,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful, and
Most humble servant,
W. Pitt.

Bath, Oct. 22nd, 1744.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Battersea, Oct. 22nd, 1744.

My dear Lord,

Since you will take the trouble of receiving from Mr. Wright the edition of that paper, which

[1] This letter refers to the Duchess of Marlborough's legacy of 10,000*l.* to Mr. Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham. Lord Marchmont's name stands first amongst those of her executors.

our late friend caused so treacherously to be made; and since I mean to have it only to destroy it, the bringing it hither would be useless. Be so good therefore as to see it burned at your house, to help to dry which is the best use it can be put to[1]. If your Lordship pleases to speak earnestly to Wright of the necessity, that no copy be left, and of your desire and mine, that he would be attentive to discover, whether any be left, and to give notices of any the least apprehension of a publication by that means, you will oblige me extremely. Let me know how your time is disposed of, that I may contrive to see you before your country journey, if you cannot come over hither. I am to make my wife's compliments to your Lordship, but not on the occasion of the Duchess of Marlborough's[2] will, she says. I own to you, that I felt, what she feels, but could have kept my sentiments to myself longer, than she can. Adieu, my dear Lord. I love and honor you for your virtues; love me with all my faults.

[1] This letter refers to a circumstance known at the time, and stated in Johnson's Life of Pope. Lord Bolingbroke put his 'Patriot King' into Pope's hands, in order that he might procure the impression of a very few copies for distribution to friends. Pope privately caused fifteen hundred copies to be struck off; and when on his death Dodsley put them into Lord Bolingbroke's hands, he then first learnt his friend's conduct in this matter. Notwithstanding what is said in this letter, all the copies were carried out to Battersea, and burnt on the Terrace there.

[2] Sarah Duchess of Marlborough died on the 18th of this month.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Wednesday Morning[1].

I thank you, my dear Lord, for your note, which gives me hopes, that the folly of last week will not influence this week. It is time indeed to resolve either to govern, or to abandon men, who mean nothing, or who mean confusion. They are made to be 'hewers of wood, and drawers of water.' Such let them remain, since they seem to proscribe every administration alike, which is to proscribe government itself, even when the proscription, they have complained of so long, is taken off.

My wife is better to-day, though yesterday much out of order. I shall not be willing to leave her till the end of the week, nor even then, unless I see the illness quite over. Adieu. My respects to Mr. Hume. Adieu, my dear Lord.

If the matter of to-day be deferred till Friday, there will be more time to prepare for it; and I suppose, Pitt may attend the House. I should be glad, if Mr. Hume and he could be both there.

[1] This letter probably refers to the situation of parties in parliament immediately after the formation of the Broadbottom Administration, which took place in November, 1744. It was supported by Mr. Pitt, although he was excluded from it by the personal antipathy of George the Second. He resisted vigorously the first opposition made to it on the 23d of January 1745, on the question of employing 28,000 men in Flanders; and this letter may be supposed to have been written a short time before that debate. This change in the government must have been especially acceptable to Lord Bolingbroke, as

Alderman George Heathcote[1] *to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.*

Walthamstow, Essex, Sept. 6th, 1745.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's favor of the 2d instant being sent to my house in Soho-square, I did not receive it till the evening following, and after the Court of Aldermen had resolved upon an address[2], which indeed I opposed, to vindicate the honour of that court from an high indignity offered to it by the arbitrary conduct of my Lord Mayor, and Sir John Barnard, who had the insolence to send the sheriffs to St. James's, to know the King's pleasure, where he would be attended by the Court of Aldermen, with their compliments, without their authority, or knowledge.

If your Lordship intended, the paragraph you sent me should be inserted in an address of the Common Council, I believe, there will not be an opportunity to offer it; because, if I can judge of the sentiments of that body, they will be silent at

through it Lord Carteret lost his place, Lord Cobham was satisfied, and Lord Chesterfield, and those in general, in whom he most interested himself, came into power. Lord Chesterfield went as ambassador to the Hague. A new opposition however soon sprung up, though not a formidable one.

[1] Member for Southwark in the parliament of 1734, and for the city of London in that of 1741. He spoke occasionally.

[2] On the rebellion breaking out in Scotland on the arrival of the Pretender.

this juncture; for as on the one hand they seem apprehensive, that an enumeration of our grievances, and a petition for redress (however warrantable, constitutional, and requisite) may be construed at this crisis factious, and disloyal; so on the other they seem to think, while the nation groans under the fatal conduct of a ruinous land war, carried on against the general bent of the people, a neglected, dishonored, and ruined fleet, and a total dissolution of government, that a direct or tacit approbation of the bad measures, which have involved us in the present melancholy condition, would argue a meanness and degeneracy unworthy of Englishmen.

Your Lordship will do me the justice to believe, that it is with the utmost concern I have observed a remarkable change in the dispositions of people within these last two years; for numbers of those, who during the apprehensions of the last[1] invasion appeared most zealous for the government, are now grown absolutely cold and indifferent, so that, except in the persons in the pay of the government, and a few dissenters, there is not the least appearance of apprehension or concern to be met with. As an evidence of this truth, your Lordship may observe the little influence an actual insurrection has had on the public funds; and unless some speedy stop be put to this universal coldness, by satisfying the demands of the nation, and suppressing by proper laws that parliamentary prostitution,

[1] In February 1744.

which has destroyed our armies, our fleets, and our constitution, I greatly fear the event.

I am, my Lord, your Lordship's

Most faithful, and most obedient servant,

GEO. HEATHCOTE.

When[1] we consider this desperate attempt as founded on a pretension to your Majesty's crowns derived from him, who lost them for bearing an hostile mind to his people, and endeavoring to deprive them of their civil and religious rights, and liberties, for the security and preservation of which your Majesty's royal family is happily established upon the throne of these realms, this consideration animates our zeal, and prompts us to assure your Majesty of our unfeigned loyalty, and affection, and of our fixed resolution to employ our fortunes, and our lives to support this your Majesty's glorious and just title to the crown. In this resolution, we are persuaded, your Majesty's whole people doth concur with us, and will thereby convince all your Majesty's enemies, that their efforts must be vain to shake your throne, which your faithful people consider as the bulwark of their religion and liberty.

[1] This paper appears to be the paragraph suggested for insertion in the address. It is in the handwriting of Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Hugh Earl of Marchmont to Alderman George Heathcote.

Sir,

I have just received your letter of this date, in answer to what I troubled you with concerning an address.

I should have been very sorry to have proposed inserting one single word tending to an approbation of the shameful conduct, that has brought this nation too near the brink of ruin, I fear, to be recovered. I think, as you do, of the unseasonableness of entering into a detail of grievances in the present conjuncture. But as I think the conjuncture more critical, than any we have ever seen, I thought it ought to be laid hold on, to remind our governors of the first principles of the present establishment, and, though grievances were not enlarged upon, to point out to them, that, in order to recover the people from their visible indifferency, assurances should be given, that the government was in the interest of the people, and would pursue that interest, as the reason why the people should prefer one government to another.

If this be not plainly enough expressed, considering wherein it is to be inserted, I should think it an improvement to enforce it; but as I take it for granted, that addresses will certainly be sent to court on this occasion, I continue of opinion, that

some national dignity and testimony of our attachment to our rights and liberties, as the true distinctions between governments, should be the essential parts of their composition.

I am, &c.

September 6th, 1745.

Alderman George Heathcote to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Walthamstow, Sept. 7th, 1745.

My Lord,

It gives me no small concern to find by your Lordship's letter of yesterday, that you think an explanation necessary of your intentions in sending me the paragraph for an address. The whole tenor of your Lordship's life is an undeniable evidence of your public spirit; and I beg you will believe, I never harbored the least thought, that you had any other view in it, than a truly noble and British one. That part of my letter, to which your Lordship seems to allude, was indeed meant no otherwise, than to convey the reasons, which had induced several of the Common Council (with whom I had discoursed) not to address at all.

It will doubtless be a matter of surprise to hear so soon after the receipt of mine, that the Common Council have addressed. I am persuaded, that, if they had been left to themselves, they would not

have done it; but the two honest gentlemen, whom I have lately mentioned, and whom I take to be as good courtiers as any in the kingdom, have industriously and artfully surprised the city into it, as they did the Court of Aldermen before; for my Lord Mayor, upon the receipt of the Duke of Newcastle's letter on the 5th, appointed a Common Council for yesterday morning, so that gentlemen had no opportunity of meeting, and considering what was fit to be done; many were out of town; and I myself received a letter at half-hour past ten yesterday morning, desiring me to come directly to town, as being named the night before at the Half Moon Club for one of the intended committee to draw up the address, in which, if I had observed a proper spirit, I would have offered your Lordship's paragraph. However, my Lord, I discharged my duty honestly, by declaring in that court, how inconsistent with honor I thought a congratulatory address, under our unhappy circumstances, unattended with a representation of our grievances, or the least hint to the crown of its obligations to the people, and then excused myself from being of the committee, and left the court; and I think, notwithstanding this address from the city, and another now on foot, called the Merchants' Address, to sign which men are dragged by the prayers and entreaties of the court faction, your Lordship may depend on the account I gave of the general coldness and indifference of the people.

I wish most sincerely, that those, who rely on such false props of government, as addresses are, may not be deceived by them in the end, being convinced in judgment, that nothing will quiet the minds of the people, and establish the government in their hearts, but the absolute security of their liberties, by restoring the original compact between this family and the nation to its pristine life and vigor, and a prudent and wise administration of affairs.

I am, my Lord, with the highest esteem,
Your Lordship's most faithful, and
Most obedient servant,
GEO. HEATHCOTE.

Hugh Earl of Marchmont to Alderman George Heathcote.

Sept. 7th.

Sir,

I do not think, there is anything in my letter of yesterday intimating, that I thought my intentions necessary to be explained to you; I hope, I know you and myself better than to think in that manner. But I foresaw, that in this conjuncture the arts of courtiers, whom you describe, could not fail to succeed; and therefore I wished, what they have obtained might be turned into a national sense, and

that, instead of flatterers, the nation might have appeared Britons, who by the sturdiness of their language shewed that of their spirit, and who, by declaring for what they meant to support this government, told the world, what they expected from it. But whatever the addresses are, I do assure you, I am sincerely,

Sir, &c.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

My trips to London are so rare, and generally so dependent on others, that I cannot always contrive them so as to see the persons, I would desire the most to see. The letter, your Lordship sends me, is from Maupertuis; and the president of the academy of Berlin sends to me to get him a couple of the small greyhounds for the King his master. Can you help me?

I shall be always glad to see Fawkener[1], when he has nothing better to do; but that is a case, into which a man of the world, and of business like him can hardly fall.

I expect no good news, and am therefore contented to have none. I wait with much resignation to know to what lion's paw we are to fall. Adieu, my dear

[1] Sir Everard Fawkener, Military Secretary to the Duke of Cumberland.

Lord. We are most humble servants to your Lordship, and to my Lady.

Saturday, past 12[1].

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Monday

I make you, my Lord, the compliments you choose to receive, on Mr. Hume's dismission. The loss is not, I think, on his side.

Will you be so good as to give the inclosed to Mr. Andrié, in answer to that he sent me from Maupertuis? Adieu, my Lord. May you see many happy years.

[1] This letter was probably written in the end of December, 1745, or in the beginning of the next month, as Lord Bolingbroke transmitted to Lord Marchmont his answer to M. de Maupertuis inclosed in his next letter; and that letter must have been written early in January 1746, as he speaks in it, as of a recent event, of Mr. Hume Campbell's dismission from the Prince of Wales's household in consequence of his parliamentary conduct. (See 'Diary,' January 2d, 1746.) Mr. Hume Campbell was Solicitor-general to the Prince of Wales.

[2] This letter must have been written early in January, 1746. See the note to the last letter.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

My Lord,

I returned the day before yesterday from Doliffe's house in Surrey, where Chetwynd and I passed five or six days, and where your Lordship was not forgot. Do not forget us neither, how little soever we deserve to be remembered. You are sorry, you say, that I should prefer your schemes of farming to all the schemes in my neighbourhood. Would you have me incorrigible quite, my Lord? I did not leave England in thirty-five[1], till some schemes that were then on the loom, though they never came into effect, made me one too many, even to my intimate friends. I have not left off, since I came to resettle here, advising and exhorting, till long after you saw it was to no purpose, and smiled at me for persisting. It is time I should retire for good and all from the world, and from the very approaches to business, '*ne peccem,*' I put it into prose, *ad extremum ridendus.* If I have shewed too much zeal, for I own that this even in a good cause may be pushed into some degree of ridicule, I can shew as much indifference; and surely it is time for me to shew the latter, since I am come to the even

[1] He had been so marked by Sir Robert Walpole as caballing with foreign ministers against his own country in 1734, that Mr. Pulteney and other heads of the opposition recommended him to leave England, which he did in 1735 on seeing that the ministers were strong in the new parliament.

of a tempestuous day, and see in the whole extent of our horizon no signs, that to-morrow will be fairer. I cannot, I ought not, to reason about your Lordship in the same manner. You may see many to-morrows; and however you think yourself fitted for the scene you are in at present, give me leave to say, you ought to have other scenes in view. Nothing has afflicted me more than to observe, that you embraced so readily the scheme of retreat. You are in it; cultivate your grounds; but do not take root in them. If you are fit for private, you are fitter for public husbandry; and the genii, you speak of, will sow ill, and reap worse. Like greedy, but unwary farmers, they force the soil too much; and their landlord, the public, would be disappointed, if he expected, as he once did, much rent from them. But it is time to leave allegory. I wish I could speak plainly to you at this distance; I would do it with unbiassed truth, which you will hear from few in this strange conjuncture of circumstances, and confusion of ideas. Public news you hear; private intelligence I have none. The first is sufficient to shew our present condition[1], and our future prospect. I am for my whole life your most faithful and

Obedient humble servant,

H. St. J. B.

Battersea, July 24th, 1746.

The rebellion was put down, but the French had at this date occupied Brussels, and taken Mons in the campaign of 1746.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

My dear Lord,

Though you are a rigid Presbyterian, I desire you to buy me a decent Common Prayer Book, such an one as a Lord of the Manor may hold forth to the edification of the parish. Let it be in quarto. Will you direct Hawkins, or any one else, to get me Sir John Marsham's *Canon Hebraic.*, a fair copy? There has been no late edition of it, so that I would have it at second-hand, and not at a bookseller's price.

Is there any truth in a report[1] come to us, that the Dutch have declared their neutrality, and stipulated a safe retreat for our ignominious army[2]? Good morrow, my Lord.

Wednesday morning[3].

I have some hope, that this fair day may tempt you.

[1] This report may have been caused by something having transpired of a secret negociation carried on in 1746 between France and Holland; in point of form the Dutch could do this, not being principals in the war; and they communicated their progress to the English govt ment. Its object was a general peace; and it led to the conferences at Breda.

[2] Not one of the defeats in Flanders could be attributed to a want of good conduct in our troops, who universally displayed undaunted valor, in despite of great causes of discouragement. Lewis the Fifteenth is reported to have said, 'that the English paid all, and fought all.'

[3] This letter may have been written in the summer of 1746.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Battersea, Oct. 11th, 1746.

My Lord,

A journey I made into Oxfordshire, which lasted longer than I expected, by one of her usual fits of pain which came upon my wife, has been the occasion of my answering your Lordship's letter of the 2d of September much later, than I should have done otherwise. I send this, as I sent my last, to your brother's, and presume he will on your Lordship's account take care of it. I am got to my fireside, the fittest and the only fit place for me, for the winter, where I expect no good, and fear no evil.

C'est icy, que j'attends la mort sans la désirer, ni la craindre.

I wish like you for peace since, however it happens, it is plain, that we cannot make war out of Italy[1], where the Empress has had great success, raises much money, and meditates designs that will, if they succeed, make her ample amends for the loss of the ten provinces, out of which we are effectually driven; and France and Spain remain masters of the whole coast from the mouth of the Var to the mouth of the Scheldt.

Your Lordship's resignation is for several reasons more meritorious than mine; but mine is entire, as it ought to be, and as yours ought not to be.

[1] In 1746 the enemy abandoned Milan, Pavia, and Parma to the Austrians, and on the 4th June experienced a signal defeat at Placentia.

I must tell you a disappointment our friend Hooke has met, which will increase his vapors. We writ into France for a passport to be sent him to Rotterdam. He expected no difficulty in obtaining it; neither did we. He went away in that confidence. By the last post we learn, that though they have given them hitherto, they will give them no more to any of our nation. I wish my Lord Sandwich[1] may find them in better humor at Breda. The event[2] of last Tuesday was sevennight will not, I think, make them more treatable. But no matter; some, who have shined as patriots, and now shine as ministers of state[3], though they have not yet the name, think our condescension in conferring with them too great, and make plans for a war, and a new settlement of Europe to be effected by it. I bow, and bless the augury. Adieu, my dear Lord. Let us continue resigned, and laugh where we can.

[1] Plenipotentiary at the Hague, sent to confer with M. de Puisieulx, who acted on the part of France in the negociation, which took place at Breda in consequence of Marshal Saxe's overture to Sir John Ligonier.

[2] This must have been the battle of Roucoux, lost by the allies on the 11th October, New Style; Lord Bolingbroke writing in England will have used the Old.

[3] This may refer to the Earl of Granville, who was seeking at every opening a return to power. Lord Harrington, who was Secretary of State, resigned on the 29th of this month; and the King, always bearing Lord Granville in mind, wished him to be the successor, but gave way, and consented to Lord Chesterfield's succeeding to the vacancy.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Battersea, Oct. 25th, 1746

My Lord,

I writ to your Lordship upon my return from Cornbury; but I suppose the letter came late to your hands, for it was carried two or three times to your brother's house, before any body could be found, who would take the charge of sending it forward, his clerk being out of the way. There was no company at Cornbury besides the master of the house, your two humble servants, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Solicitor, and Mr. Chetwynd. Had there been more, I should not have made one of the number. I am unfit for most societies, and most societies for me. I scarce understand the language, that is spoke in these parts, any better than I should that of the Highlands; and I am too old to learn it. As far as I am able to judge of what passed lately on the Meuse[1], the French did not make the most of their foregame, nor we of our backgame. But it is hard for those, who are better informed than I pretend to be, to ascertain facts, at a time when they seem to

[1] In the campaign of 1746, Count Lowendahl took possession of Huy, and intercepted the communication of the allied army under Prince Charles with Maestricht, upon which it crossed the Meuse, and fell back upon that city, abandoning Namur, which capitulated after a siege. After a march and countermarch, the allied army was attacked by Marshal Saxe, at Roucoux on the Yaar, and worsted, on the 1st of October. It retreated on Maestricht, and both armies went into winter-quarters.

be told in private as well as in public, without any great regard to truth, and merely to raise a spirit suitable to the designs of our governors. There is so little respect paid to the understanding of this silly nation, that even the varnish of probability is laid aside;

Quo fata trahunt, retrahunque sequamur.

Let Battersea be remembered at Redbraes—Redbraes will be always remembered most affectionately at Battersea. This is in answer to your Lordship's of the 14th instant, which was brought yesterday to your most faithful and obedient servant.

H. St. J. B.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Battersea, Nov. 25th, 1746.

My Lord,

Though I would not importune you with letters, which must contain very little worthy of your notice, since they come from me, and go by the post, I should be sorry to write so seldom, as to leave a chance of being forgot, or but faintly remembered by you. This precaution is the more necessary, if what I hear be true, and if your Lordship means, by letting your house in London, to reside constantly where you are. This resolution afflicts me;

and it afflicts me the more, the less I can say against it. I had once flattered myself with better hopes; and among many, that I am forced to lay aside, these will not be the hopes, in the disappointment of which I shall grieve the least. There are private comforts of life, which affect the heart immediately, and which it is hard to resign; these are the comforts which arise from intimate and honorable friendship. I depend on the continuance of your Lordship's; and mine will last with the same warmth, as long as I last. But the more sincere and affectionate the friendship is, the more severely we feel the privation of those comforts, that are found in the daily and hourly exercise of it. You have performed many duties of public life; but I hope that you have not performed them all. New scenes will open, and new calls of duty will be made on you. I do not wish you should carry philanthropy as far as I have done, who gave myself perhaps some ridicule by it in the eyes of those very persons who were the principal objects of it. But I trust you will have occasions of exercising the virtue without the ridicule. You are young enough to make this trust reasonable; I am old enough to have no trust, no expectation, no call of this kind. I plunge myself therefore deeper and deeper into that retreat from persons, and abstraction from the concerns of the world, which becomes a man, who is destined to pass the remainder of his days out of it, and to live as if he was dead. I am sorry to hear what

you say in your letter of the 2nd instant, that the principles of freedom gain no one friend with you. With us they seem to be abjured in form by those who have made the loudest profession of them. Liberty has been the cry of one set of men, as prerogative was formerly of another. But it has been no more than a cry; and the cause of liberty has been as little regarded by those leaders, who gave it out to their troops, as the cause of St. George or St. Dennis was concerned in the battles of the English and the French. I hope the temple will not fall, and your lordship be buried in the ruins of it. Preserve the temple, whatever becomes of the statue. Adieu, my Lord.

Be persuaded, that you neither have, nor can have, a more faithful, nor more obedient servant, than

H. St. J. Bolingbroke.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Battersea, Jan. 7th, 1746-7.

My Lord,

Hobbes returned the compliment of a man, who wished him an happy new-year, and a thousand of them, by asking why he limited him. I make your Lordship no such compliment, but I wish you as many, and those as happy, as you can at any

period of life wish yourself. I should have done it sooner, and should have thanked you at the same time for your letter of the 8th of December, if my own indisposition, my wife's, and two or three interruptions had not hindered me. Now I do write, I find nothing to say, that may be of information, or in any respect of satisfaction to you. Say to yourself, my Lord,

Grata superveniet, quæ non sperabitur hora.

I am too old to say so to myself. Receive my thanks, as well as my wife's, for the present of herrings you intend us, and of which a friend at the Custom-house will take care, as soon as they arrive. It is easy to apprehend the little encouragement to industry, that the people in your part of the kingdom have had, or have yet. Much has been done to demolish; we must hope, that something will be done to re-edify solidly. It should seem, that this work cannot be too soon begun, since, I presume, that, to be done effectually, it must be the work of years, not of days. Adieu, my Lord. My friendship for you is so sincere, and founded in so much esteem, that I should be unhappy, if I did not depend on yours for your Lordship's faithful, and most obedient humble servant.

H. St. J. B.

Send me your direction, that I may write to you directly.

Hugh Earl of Marchmont to Viscount Bolingbroke.

My Lord,

I should have wished your Lordship all, that a grateful heart can wish, before this time, had not the

Hora, quæ non sperabitur,

come upon me; that is, had I not been kept in one continual hurry by the declaration made in this county by the Scotch ministry, that the court interest here was ordered to go to anybody against my brother, at the next election, a very unexpected consequence of the approbation unanimously given to my brother by the principal gentlemen of the county[1] at their last public meeting. However, my Lord, had it hurried me as little as it surprised me, I should have ere now again assured your Lordship, that I value your esteem and affection, beyond all the Portuguese diamond mine can produce. *C'est ma béquille*, upon which all the lameness of the public episode of my life supports itself. But no figure of rhetoric can express, what I feel for your Lordship. I desire you to be persuaded of it, my Lord, and that nothing can ruffle me, so long as I am sure of your approbation, and friendship. I wish our ministers success in all their great undertakings; soon may they imagine, well may they contrive, and successfully may they execute every

[1] Of Berwick.

national design. May every blessing of body and mind attend your Lordship. I am sorry to hear you and my Lady have been indisposed. I hope the distance of Battersea from London at this season has given you leisure to lay in a stock of health. Were my farm as near it, as I could wish, though Battersea were ten degrees further south, a ride to direct me would be also of benefit to your Lordship. But I have learned not to repine even at the latitude of fifty-five and a half. I grudge much more the three hundred miles; your kindness, my Lord, must supply it. We drink every day to our being remembered at Battersea; may our libations be not in vain! Mr. Carre retains a just sense of your Lordship's goodness. Recommend us, my Lord, to Lady Bolingbroke, and be convinced that I am with a most sincere heart,

My Lord, &c.[1]

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

My Lord,

Battersea has been this long time further than ordinary from London, by rain, snow, high tides, and tempestuous weather. I see few of the people

[1] This letter, as the answer to Lord Bolingbroke's of the 7th January 1747, is probably of that same month.

of this part of the world, fewer than you would easily imagine, even when it is fair, and the distance less. Judge by that of my solitude; and yet in the midst of this solitude, I hear the noise of elections, that are to take place a year and a half hence. We must conclude surely, that there will be some great national crisis at the holding of the next Parliament, since they, who govern, and who expect to govern, prepare so early for it. I am sorry that your Lordship has your share of the trouble, which this foresight, and these measures, that would have been deemed premature at any other time, occasion at this. But this very consideration may incite you perhaps to take your share of it with the more readiness. I wish you success. I wish, and that is all I can do; for from being a crutch, I am at most a reed in the hand of every one I honor, and would serve. Some, who leaned upon me, such as I was, in their days of lameness, have laid me by as an useless implement, since the angel stirred the waters, and they got into the pool, and were cured. If I am in any sense their crutch, I am one of those, which men hang up to shew, that they want them no longer, and to serve as monuments of their cure. I thank your Lordship for your benediction, which I value more than that of any mitred or unmitred saint in Christendom.

The state of my health, like that of my fortune, is not abundant, but sufficient, because I spend little, and shall want neither of them long. I make

my letter no longer, because I have really nothing, which might be of amusement or information to your Lordship, to write; and if the world affords anything of that sort, you have it, I suppose, from a much better hand, from your brother, who is in the middle of this world, and who figures, whenever he pleases, considerably in it. I flatter myself, that many words are not necessary to convince your Lordship, that, dead to almost all mankind, I shall be, as long as I breathe, alive to you with all the vivacity of sincere friendship. I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful and most
Obedient humble servant,
H. St. J. BOLINGBROKE.

I should be glad to know that my Lord Stair is well.

Battersea, Feb. 19th, 1746-7.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Battersea, March 28th, 1747.

My Lord,

I acknowledge the honor of your Lordship's letter of the 9th of this month, and am glad, that your trouble about election[1] matters is over. I

[1] The parliament was dissolved on the 18th of June, 1747. Mr. Hume Campbell was re-elected for Berwickshire in the new parliament.

wish they may turn to your satisfaction. Your brother's walks and mine, if I may be said to walk in any sense, are very distant. I have seen him but once since you left us, when his coach passed by mine on the Chelsea road; and he sent a message to Miller, who was in mine. But I hear, that he makes the figure one might expect from his extraordinary talents, as often as he appears in parliament. I agree with your Lordship, that it is better to be clapped on the stage, than hissed; and I approve the desire of applause, because I apprehend, that the maxim, *contemptu famæ contemni virtutes*, was drawn by Tacitus from a just observation of human frailty. But the applause of the world is a very uncertain tenure; and a wise and a good man will secure to himself another, that inward, conscious applause, which will never fail him when he has deserved it. This your Lordship enjoys; and I doubt not but Mr. Hume will enjoy. I perceive your Lordship looks forward with much despondency of mind. For my own part, I look often back with regret, and dare not look forward[1] at all. I recall often to mind what my friend Arbuthnot said to me just before he died, that I should live to see

[1] In the campaign of 1747 the French made an inroad into Zealand, which led to so strong a burst of national feeling in Holland, that the Prince of Orange was restored to the Stadtholdership and to the office of Captain-General and Admiral of the Seven Provinces, in order that he might protect their territories, and independence. The French afterwards gained the battle of Lauffeldt, and surprised Bergen-op-Zoom. From Italy the Austro-Sardinian army made a fruitless invasion of Provence, and retraced its steps.

what he was happy enough to avoid seeing, by dying before me. Your Lordship and my Lady will do justice to this place, if you are persuaded, that you have, in no place, two more faithful servants. Our healths are not good, but tolerable. We have passed that age, when the body supports the mind; and are come to that, when the mind must support itself, and the body too. As long as it can do so, I shall be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient
Humble servant,
H. St. J. BOLINGBROKE.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Battersea, May 19th, 1747.

My dear Lord,

I did not expect to have a compliment of condolence to make you, when I took up the pen to answer your letter of the 23d of April. But Mr. Hume has just informed me of Lady Marchmont's death[1]. I take my part in this loss as one who honored her much, and as one who is too much your Lordship's friend not to feel for you in every case. If I could write as well as Seneca, I would not

[1] The first Lady Marchmont, who died in this month.

trouble you with any stoical reflections on this occasion. Your own superior sense and courage will give you more comfort, than all I am able to suggest; and in them you must seek it. To speak to you on any other subject at this time, or to say any more on this, would be equally impertinent. I shall conclude my letter therefore by desiring you to be persuaded, that no man feels for you more sensibly than I do, nor loves, esteems, or honors you more perfectly than he who is, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and
Most humble servant,
H. St. J. BOLINGBROKE.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Battersea, June 11th, 1747.

My Lord,

Mr. Hume did me the honor to dine here yesterday, and I had the satisfaction to talk of your Lordship, of your situation, of your views, and of your interests, with one better informed, and better able to judge of them all than myself; for more solicitous about them not even he can be. Since he sets out for the north the day after to-morrow, you will have a more full and exact state of our political affairs by your conversations with him, than

I could give you by letter, or even by conversation. You will lament it, as we do, and will see, I fear, as little hope of extricating this unhappy country out of insupportable distress, as we see. I speak of that which is actual, for to that which is in prospect, I have not the courage to turn my eyes. If one could be relieved, the other might be prevented. But how should the first happen, when, as bad as our circumstances are, we should not perish by them, if we did not perish by characters? The degeneracy of these into ignorance, futility, venality, and faction seems to be complete. Every day's experience proves it to be so; and your brother will be able to give you instances, that prove it signally. Thus, my Lord, I complain to you, and to the few, who think, and feel, as I do. There is a sort of melancholy ease in such complaints; and I seek it sometimes, but I seek no more; for I am no longer so foolish as to hope to do good. A proscribed man has no influence, an old man has little interest in all that passes. I should have learned this lesson sooner.

I am in hopes, that Mr. Hume will have no considerable opposition, and that we shall see him in a short time return a representative of his country in the new parliament. If your Lordship was to return the same in your rank, my joy would be entire. Whether you do, or do not; whether I live to see you again, or die without that satisfaction, I shall live, and die in all the sentiments of esteem

and affection for your Lordship, that an honest heart can hold. No man honors you more truly, no man loves you better, than the hermit of this place, for such I make myself by breaking insensibly all connexions with the world; and the world, who set me the example, continues to help me in executing this plan of life.

Adieu, my dear Lord. May happiness attend you. I trust it will; for though we cannot often procure pleasures, nor ward off afflictions, yet the tenor of mind, which constitutes happiness on the whole, is greatly in our power.

I am faithfully, your Lordship's
Most obedient, humble servant,
H. St. J. BOLINGBROKE.

Receive, my Lord, the same assurance from the old woman of this place.

The Duke of Newcastle to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Newcastle House, July 21st, 1747.

My Lord,

I have the honor and pleasure to acquaint your Lordship, that I this day received his Majesty's commands to prepare the instruments for appointing your Lordship First Commissioner of the Police,

in the room of the Earl of Sutherland. Your Lordship will allow me to congratulate you on this mark of his Majesty's regard; and I can truly say, that it is a very great pleasure to me to be joined with your Lordship in his Majesty's service. Though I have not had the honor to have any conversation with Mr. Hume Campbell upon this subject, as soon as ever my brother acquainted me with what had passed, I not only applied to the King in the best manner I was able, that your Lordship might succeed my Lord Sutherland, to which I had the good fortune to obtain his Majesty's consent, but also procured his Majesty's leave to propose to the Marquis of Lothian[1] the exchange, being informed that his employment would be more agreeable to your Lordship than the other; and I made use of the interest and credit that I had with my Lord Lothian for that purpose[2]; though I was not so happy as to prevail, I flatter myself that, having now the honor to be a fellow-servant with your Lordship, I shall have frequent opportunities of shewing your Lordship how desirous I am of your friendship, and of convincing you of the truth and respect with which I am,

My Lord, your Lordship's
Most obedient, humble servant,
HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

[1] Then Lord Clerk Register. [2] See the Diary.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Battersea, Aug. 23d, 1747.

My Lord,

If I had known sooner the precise time of your return, I would have put off my journey to Bath for some days, that I might have had the pleasure of embracing you at your arrival; but my baggage was sent away, and my whole decampment settled, when Mr. Grevenkop told me, that he expected you in the first days of this week. I hope you have received my answer to your last. You will have had from Mr. Hume a much better political map of this court and country, than I could give you. I wish your Lordship may open one more agreeable to me at my coming back, than any that I could lay before you at my going away. I wish it the more heartily, because if such a change does not happen soon, this country will be undone[1] irretrievably. Adieu, my Lord. I honor and love you with an inviolable attachment.

Give me leave to make my compliments to Mr. Hume.

[1] The battle of Lauffeldt had now been lost, and trenches had been long open before Bergen-op-Zoom; it did not fall however until the 15th of the following month.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Bath, Sept. 14th, 1747.

I should have been glad to see you, my Lord, at your arrival from the North for my own sake, not for yours; for the pleasure I should have felt, not for any advantage it might have been of to you. What view I should have given you of the scene of public affairs and private dispositions, you will have had much better from your brother, who seemed, when I saw him last, to think of both just as I did, and do still. I was never capricious, nor inconstant in friendship; I can say with truth, that I never broke the terms of it with any man, who had not broken them first with me. You would do me great wrong therefore, my dear Lord, if you apprehended the loss of that share, which you have in my heart. *Idem sentire de republicâ* is one of the strongest ties of friendship; and I persuade myself, it will always subsist between you and me. We shall scarce differ in opinion about means; but sure I am, we can never differ in sentiment about ends. My wife joins with me in assuring your Lordship of her unalterable and most affectionate regard. I am ever, my Lord, with all my heart and soul, your most faithful and most obedient humble servant,

H. St. J. Bolingbroke.

Since I write from this place, I must say something of my health. My pains diminish daily by pumping; and I hope to correct the cause of them in some time longer by drinking the waters.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Bath, Oct. 13th, 1747.

My Lord,

I profit of Mr. Chetwynd's return to London to thank your Lordship for your letter of the 18th of the last month. What has happened to me often in the course of my life has happened to me here. The good reputation of the waters drew me in; their first effects increased my confidence; and I persisted in the use of them, till they did me a great deal of hurt. The topical application of them by pumping did me this hurt; and I do not yet find, that drinking them has done me much good. In a fortnight I will leave them, whatever the event be. If I prepare myself a winter free from pain, I shall think myself happy; for at my age a man may adopt the maxim of Epicurus, that freedom from pain is the first volupty. I seek no other.

Whether a congress be the straight road to a peace, I determine not; but the necessary means of travelling that, like other roads, must be provided, I believe, before the travellers set out. You and I

have a friend[1] at London, who will think so; and it will be no fault of his, if these means are not provided. I know not whether Stair, if he was now alive, would change his opinion about the importance of characters; but I am sure, he would enjoy with vast delight the thirty thousand[2] Russians, that are on the way to help us to conquer France, and trouble himself little about the King of Prussia.

Adieu, my dear Lord. Receive the kindest compliments of your old French friend[3]; and be persuaded, that you have not in the world a more faithful humble servant than

H. St. J. BOLINGBROKE.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Saturday Morning.

My Lord,

You will see, that I am still a cripple, even in my chair, since I make use of another hand to thank

[1] Lord Chesterfield, then Secretary of State.

[2] This number of Russians marched to reinforce the allies before this year closed; they were subsidized by England and Holland. The King of Prussia, on this arrangement being made, prepared to renew the war, under the fear of having his conquests torn from him, but desisted on his alarms being tranquillized, which was effected mainly by the English government. The rapid review of this war, which is to be found in Lord Bolingbroke's 'State of the Nation,' written in 1749, but not published till after his death, will have an especial interest to those, who will have read this correspondence, and Hugh Earl of Marchmont's Diary.

[3] Lady Bolingbroke.

your Lordship for the note, I have just received, and to wish you all the joy, which matrimony can give you. I am civilly dead; I have been so long, and shall be so naturally in a short time. The greatest comfort, I can have in such a state, is to think, that I leave the few friends, I have, happy, and in a way of continuing so. This sentiment affects me in no case more strongly than in your Lordship's. God preserve and bless you, and give you children, who may emulate the virtues of their fathers. The good woman of this house joins heartily with me in these wishes. The accident mentioned in the papers afflicts me much; both the persons have merit in their way, and you know that I have a very great regard for their families.

I am, my Lord, most sincerely,
Your Lordship's faithful friend,
And obedient humble servant,
H. St. J. BOLINGBROKE[1].

[1] This letter must have been written in 1748. Lord Marchmont was married to his second wife, Miss Crumpton, in the month of March of that year.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Battersea, June 16th, 1748.

My Lord,

I rejoice to hear, that you had so pleasant a journey, and got so well to Red Braes. Nothing has tempted me to interrupt the regularity of my life, nor the use of tar-water, which I take in a small quantity, because in a greater it has an ill effect. If I can free myself from pain, and avoid being quite a cripple, I shall be happy; if I cannot, I shall be resigned. I never thought, that my importance deserved the interpositions of particular providences, and have therefore learned never to grumble at those contingencies, which must happen under the direction of a general providence. I have been blamed, and perhaps ridiculed, for hoping to cure the incurable, and to retrieve the irretrievable. I will deserve to be so for the future in no case, public nor private, physical nor moral. When your Lordship returns, I think, you will find me, where you left me, unless you find me naturally, as well as civilly dead. You must not be abstracted from the men, and things, of this age, and country. I ought to be so, I must be so, or I must seem to hang on a world, that I despise. Private friendship, those that I have, for I court no more, I shall cultivate to my death, and your Lordship's particu-

larly, wherever I am. Of this, I hope, you are persuaded. Receive the compliments of my sister invalid, and make both hers and mine to the Countess, and to Lady Anne. You will never receive any, that are more sincere, nor more affectionate, than these, that come from

Your Lordship's most obedient,
And most humble servant,
H. St. J. BOLINGBROKE.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Battersea, Aug. 30th, 1748.

I rejoice, my dear Lord, to hear, that you are well, and that you remember one, who must always remember you with a just esteem, and most sincere affection. I think, my wife sinks apace under pains, that quit her for hours, and torment her for days. Mine are less, but they continue; and the use of my limbs returns very little. If your Lordship has nothing to write, how should I, who am nearer the capital, but more out of the world, forgotten, and forgetting?

Receive the kindest compliments of the wife, and believe the husband, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful friend,
And obedient servant,
H. St. J. BOLINGBROKE.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Battersea, Nov. 1st, 1748.

My Lord,

I hope, you heard from me by myself, as well as of me by Mr. Whitfield[1], for I answered your Lordship's precedent letters. This apostolical person preached some time ago at Lady Huntingdon's, and I should have been curious to hear him. Nothing kept me from going but an imagination, that there was to be a select auditory. That saint, our friend Chesterfield, was there, and I heard from him an extreme good account of the sermon.

. . . . . .

I thank your Lordship for your congratulations, and good wishes. As a friend to this country, I rejoice at the peace[2]. In the same character, I

[1] Lord Chesterfield was by no means deficient in foresight, for there is a passage in his works in which, considering the tendency of the writings of the French philosophers of his day, he foretells, that 'the trades of king and priest 'will have fallen in value before the end of the century.' But neither he nor Lord Bolingbroke were capable of estimating the effects of the preaching of Whitfield, or of his brother and rival John Wesley, so as to be able to foretell the degree of revival of religion in the nation, to which they were to lead, the one acting more immediately within, the other without, the Church of England, although differing diametrically upon an important matter of religious opinion.

[2] The preliminaries of peace between England, France, and Holland, were signed at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 30th April, 1748. The other belligerent powers soon acceded to those preliminaries, Austria being the first to do so. The definitive general treaty between all the belligerents was signed on the 18th October of that year.

wish we had had the same near three years ago, as we might have had, and have saved by the difference about twenty millions. As to myself, I am free from pain, and have reasonable hopes, that I shall continue so. If the poor woman, that lives here, were in the same state, even such as it is, we should both be satisfied, for neither she, nor I, have need of dissipation to make our lives comfortable, nor attachment enough to the world to be much concerned how soon we leave it. I cannot approve, that your Lordship should grow over fond of retreat. In my system of moral obligations, the public are to be fulfilled as well as the private, till we arrive at a certain age, and fall into certain circumstances, both which are mine, but not your Lordship's. The last will, I hope, never be so. Adieu, my dear Lord. Be persuaded, that the best, and kindest sentiments of this hermitage are directed constantly to Red Braes, and that I am, what I have been, ever since I knew you, and shall be, as long as I live, with true esteem, and the warmest affection,

My Lord, your Lordship's faithful,
And obedient humble servant,
H. St. J. BOLINGBROKE.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

Battersea, June 7th, 1749.

My Lord,

I will do my best to answer your Lordship's letter of the 25th of the last month, in my own hand writing; though, among other infirmities which increase daily, I have that of using with the utmost trouble, and sometimes of not being able to use at all, my right hand, in the shoulder on which side I feel often short but severe pains. . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

The publication[1] you mention has brought no

[1] This refers to the publication in 1749 of Lord Bolingbroke's 'Patriot King,' by Mallet, who was employed by his Lordship for that purpose. It is stated in the note to his letter of the 22d October 1744, that after Pope's death, Lord Bolingbroke discovered his friend's having had fifteen hundred copies of it privately printed, and that he burnt them. Mr. Mallet's advertisement preceding this work, which is called the genuine edition, alleges as the cause of the publication, that the friend to whom it had been confided had not only been guilty of a breach of trust, but had divided the subject, and had farther taken upon him to alter and omit passages according to the suggestions of his own fancy, and that 'scraps and fragments of these papers had been employed to swell a 'monthly magazine;' it asserts, that it was put into that friend's (Mr. Pope's) hands, to be shewn only to five or six persons then named.

Lord Bolingbroke would certainly have acted wisely and kindly in complaining less loudly and vehemently of Pope's conduct in this matter, whatever may have been the motives for it. But Warburton is certainly not warranted in ascribing to him a long concealed project of vengeance against Pope, hidden under flattery and caresses whilst he lived, for the accomplishment of which he took this act of his respecting the 'Patriot King' as a pretext.

It

trouble upon me, though it has given occasion to many libels against me. They are of the lowest form, and seem to be held in the contempt they deserve. There I shall leave them, nor suffer a nest of hornets to disturb the quiet of my retreat. If these letters of mine come to your hands, your Lordship will find, that I have left out all that was said to our friend Lyttelton in one of them. He desired, that it might be so; and I had at once the double mortification of concealing the good I had said of one friend, and of revealing the turpitude of another. I hope you will never have the same treatment, that I have met with; neither will you. I am single in my circumstances—a species apart in the political society; and they, who dare to attack no one else, may attack me. Chesterfield says, I have made a coalition of Whig, Tory, Trimmer, and Jacobite against myself. Be it so. I have Truth, that is stronger than all of them, on my side; and, in her company, and avowed by her, I have more satisfaction, than their applause and their favor could give me.

It may be observed with respect to Mallet's execution of another commission confided to him by Lord Bolingbroke, that in reply to Lord Cornbury's earnest entreaties, that he would not publish his Lordship's posthumous work, 'The four Letters on History,' as being noxious to religion, and as striking at establishments on which the conduct of society at least depends, he asserted that it was printed before he had his Lordship's letter, and that Lord Bolingbroke had ordered him to print it exactly according to the copy corrected by him. But no such compulsion appears in Lord Bolingbroke's will. Mallet however liked too well the tendency of these letters to withhold them. Lord Marchmont used to complain strongly of Mallet's conduct in the execution of the trust committed to him by Lord Bolingbroke respecting his papers.

Receive, my Lord, the assurances of an affection as unalterable as useless from your invalid friends, and make their compliments acceptable to all your family. I am ever, with true esteem,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

H. St. J. BOLINGBROKE.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

London, Jan. 16th, 1749-50.

My Lord,

I have answered long ago the two letters, which I received from you soon after you got home. But I must give you the trouble of another letter on the present occasion. Your Lordship was taken into employment without being brought into the House of Peers. I am glad to find, that the marks of favor and confidence are now complete[1]. The hope of seeing you sooner than I expected, adds to my pleasure. You will find my wife in the painful dregs of life, and me in a strong decline. But you find us both as warmly as ever devoted to you. I shall not lengthen this letter, but conclude by assuring you, that I am most faithfully, my Lord, your Lordship's obedient and most humble servant,

H. St. J. BOLINGBROKE.

[1] Lord Marchmont was elected one of the sixteen Scots Peers in 1750.

From Archibald Duke of Argyle to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

London, January 18th, 1749-50.

My Lord,

I had the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 9th, and am very much obliged to you for the kind manner in which your Lordship takes my concurrence in a measure[1], which I formerly assured you I should be glad to see pursued. I hope it will be of service to your Lordship, and can have no doubt but it will be so to your country. My regard to your Lordship's family is of no late date; it is now above half a century, that I remember your grandfather[2] at the head of King William's service in Scotland; and the Statute Book shews what persecutions your family[3] and mine had suffered, and

[1] This must refer to Hugh Lord Marchmont's election as one of the sixteen Scots representative Peers.

[2] Patrick Earl of Marchmont, Lord Chancellor, and once Lord High Commissioner.

[3] The most remarkable instance of the association of the two families in common politics and sufferings was that afforded by the expedition of the Earl of Argyle, and its results. The grandfather of the Earl of Marchmont served in it under the grandfather of the Duke, the one paying the penalty of the attempt by flight abroad, and the confiscation of his estate, and the other by his life.

The opposition, in which Alexander and Hugh Earls of Marchmont very frequently stood either to the general or the local politics of Archibald Duke of Argyle, both when such and when Earl of Islay, will account for much of the disadvantageous mention of, and comments on his policy, which are found in their papers. He appears to have been a man of science and much study, of a very shrewd, active mind, and to have promoted efficiently the interests of

by whom we were relieved. These sorts of connections have more weight with me than common habits, which have slight foundations. I dare say, your Lordship will meet with no manner of difficulty; but if anything should occur to you relating to any of our brethren, in which I can be of any service, I beg you will let me know it, being, with great truth and respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and
Most humble servant,

ARGYLE.

Scotland in some important branches of administration, but not to have been very choice in the means, to which he recurred at times in his political administration; and the country appears to have been placed more entirely in his hands, than it should have been in those of any individual. The test however which his administration will least bear, is that to which it was put by the rebellion of 1745. It is true, that not long before it broke out, he made unavailing efforts to cause the friends of government there to have arms confided to them, its enemies disarmed, and regiments raised for foreign service amongst the disaffected clans. But during the many years of his paramount influence over the conduct of the government respecting Scotland, surely there was time for the introduction of a preventive system, especially in the Highlands, which might have tended to weaken and do away prejudices and ancient affections, and to substitute for them other feelings and interests, which might have averted that catastrophe, or at least have greatly diminished the extent, the violence, and the danger of the shock. But his defence might be that, which British ministers may often have to urge, not only that the means, to which they have to resort in order to maintain themselves in power, militate against the objects of national weal for which it is delegated to them, but that their time, their attention, and their energies, are too urgently called upon in defence of their existence as a government, to leave them the possibility of following up systematically, providently, and vigorously the care of the external, or even of the internal policy of the nation. In truth, they are frequently in a situation little better than that of the garrison of a besieged fortress. But, to use an illustration that may be less excepted against, let us view them as the husbandmen of some countries of ancient and modern times, compelled to carry

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

London, Feb. 1st, 1749-50.

My Lord,

I did myself the honor to write to you when I heard that the *Conge d'élire* was granted in favour of your Lordship; and I left my letter at Mr. Hume's house. Since that I have received yours of the 18th of January, for which I return you my thanks. It is true that I have been these two months in this town, much out of order myself, and yet not on my own account, but on that of a poor woman, who is come, I think, to die here. It is impossible to describe the torment she has endured these many months, and the weakness to which she is reduced, by a slow but almost continual fever at this time. A man who thinks and feels as I do, can find no satisfaction in the present scene; and I am about to lose one who has been the comfort of my life in all the melancholy scenes of it, just at a time when the present is most likely to continue, and to grow daily worse. It will be a pleasure to me to see your Lordship return into these parts, before I shut myself up from the world more than ever, or go out of it naturally. But as I never was of much service to

their arms with them to their fields for defence against the spoiler; and let us ask ourselves, if, in such a state of things, improvements like those of our agriculture, as the irrigation of our meadows, or the beautiful system of the rotation of our crops, could have been planned and carried to perfection?

your Lordship, I shall be so less than ever. I have been long chimerical enough to hope to do some good; but I hope it no longer. I have given my wife the satisfaction of knowing, that your Lordship still remembers her. She desires you to receive her thanks, and to be assured, that she carries to the grave with her all the esteem and friendship she professed for your Lordship during her life. We are both well-wishers and humble servants to all at Redbraes. Adieu, my good Lord. Whatever become of me, may you live long and happy in better days, in better enjoyments, and with better prospects! This is the sincere wish of a faithful friend and most obedient servant,

H. St. J. BOLINGBROKE.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

London, March 1st, 1749-50.

My Lord,

I thank you very kindly for the honor of your letter of the 15th February. I am the more obliged to you for it, on account of the hurry you must have been in lately. You are very good to take any share in that affliction, which has lain upon me so long, and which still continues, with the fear of

being increased by a catastrophe, I am little able to bear.

Resignation, my Lord, is a principal duty in my system of religion. Reason shews, that it ought to be willing, if not cheerful; but there are passions, and habitudes in human nature, which reason cannot entirely subdue. I should be even ashamed not to feel them in the present case, though I am resigned to the conditions of humanity, and the natural course of things.

I shall never retire so as to deny myself to my friends, however useless they may be to me, and I much more so to them. But there are few, whom I esteem such; and I have been long saying to myself, what I told you once that old St. Victor said to me, *Je deviens tous les ans de plus en plus isolé dans ce monde.* From your Lordship I hope never to be separated; by my affection, I never shall. You will find me still the same man in all my sentiments both public and private, and particularly in those, which engage me to be with just esteem, and sincere friendship, my Lord, your Lordship's

Most obedient, humble servant,

H. St. J. BOLINGBROKE.

You will forgive me, my Lord, if I make use of another hand, rather than to defer my answer to you. A strong affection, which rheumatic pains have left on the nerves, deprives me often of the power to use it in writing.

Viscount Bolingbroke to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Battersea, Tuesday, July 31st, 1750.

My Lord,

I would give one of my hands to have the free use of the other on this occasion, that I might be able to tell you, under my own hand, the transport of pleasure, which your letter gives me. My Lady is well, the child[1] is well, and you have a successor. May he be such, and, I trust, he will be such, to all your virtues!

Believe, my Lord, your own joy cannot be greater than that of your devoted humble servant,

H. St. J. BOLINGBROKE[2].

The Right Honorable Henry Pelham to Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

Sept. 1st, 1750.

My Lord,

I have the honor of your Lordship's commands of the 25th ultimo, and shall not fail to do what you desire, when the Treasury meets; I should have done it sooner, but I must own, it slipped out of

[1] The last Lord Polwarth, born the preceding day.

[2] Lord Bolingbroke died on the 15th November of the year following, 1751.

my head, which it ought not to have done, when you have so frequently spoken to me on the subject.

I conclude, you have heard, a treaty[1] between Holland, England, and the Elector of Bavaria is signed; the expence to us is a trifle; and I hope the consequences of the treaty will sufficiently make up for that. It does look as if a King of the Romans would be chosen, and that the choice would fall on the Arch-Duke Joseph. If so, our bone of contention is removed for two lives; and the House of Bavaria, being separated from France, may possibly check, and disappoint the turbulent and ambitious views of some other German powers. Quiet is

[1] This act is designated as 'a Treaty of Subsidy between the King of Great Britain, Elector of Hanover, and the States-General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, on the one part, and the Elector of Bavaria on the other.' It was concluded on the 22d of August, 1750. Its professed object was the maintenance of six thousand foot, placed at the disposal of England and Holland, under certain reservations; its real object was to secure the vote of the Elector of Bavaria for the election of the Arch-Duke Joseph, then a minor, as King of the Romans.

This letter points to the policy adopted by Mr. Pelham on this occasion, which was to make a pecuniary sacrifice to secure one vote, but to refuse his consent to any similar purchase. Could this have been a secret treaty, and remained such, the event might possibly have justified the calculation; but since it was made publicly known at once, as this letter proves, it unavoidably failed of success, as the knowledge of the terms, which one elector had obtained, of course inflamed the cupidity of his brethren, and led to obstinate refusals to grant the desired votes without the like propitiations, to which Mr. Pelham was finally brought to consent, in despite of his better reason, and of his promise given to the House of Commons, that no further subsidies than the one here mentioned should be given for securing the election of the King of the Romans. Sums of money were granted in the same view, under different pretences, to the Elector of Saxony, and to the Elector Palatine, the former of whom obtained by a subsidiary treaty 32,000*l.*

what we want; economy is necessary; but the one cannot be had without the other.

This may be one step towards that quiet; and if we do not launch out into other expences, this cannot interfere greatly with our economy.

I must trouble you to make my compliments to Mr. Hume Campbell, and beg leave to assure your Lordship, that I am, with great truth,

Your Lordship's most obedient,
And faithful servant,
H. PELHAM.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

PAPERS

OF

ALEXANDER EARL OF MARCHMONT.

[The Papers printed under the above title are placed here, rather than after the Letters of Alexander Earl of Marchmont, in order that they may not interrupt the historical continuity of the Correspondence already given in this volume.]

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

PAPERS OF ALEXANDER EARL OF MARCHMONT.

Memorandum in the Handwriting of Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

KING William, with his army, perceived King James and his army, before the battle of the Boyne, three days, at last came up with him, and seeing King James his army from a rising ground, with only the water betwixt them, so near that one could have [been] known, the King took off his hat, and said, 'Gentlemen, I am glad to see you; 'if you get away from me now, it shall be my 'fault;' and then asked Duke Schomberg, if he had his canteens there with anything to eat. They lighted from their horses, and a table-cloth being laid upon the grass, they went to breakfast, till the army, which was coming up, should arrive at the camp, that was marked out for it. While at breakfast, a party of the enemy's horse came to the other side of the water, near to where they sat. The King said, we must not be surprised while at break-

fast, and ordered a party of one hundred dragoons down to the water-side. The two parties shot at one another all the time of breakfast, which done, they all mounted a horseback again. While this was a-doing, they observed the enemy bring down two cannon to the plain just below, drawn by grey horses; and as the King and that small company were stepping along viewing the enemy, the first shot from the cannon struck on the Prince of Darmstadt's[1] pistols, so that his horse, a white one, dropped down with his belly to the ground; the King called out, *Ah! le pauvre Prince de Darmstadt est tué!*

Immediately after a second shot hit the King on the shoulder, which made him bend down on his horse's neck, upon which there was a huzza through the enemy's army, believing him to be killed. The ball had just grazed upon his shoulder, tore away his clothes, and scooped out about the breadth of a crown of the flesh of his shoulder. The King stepped on a little further, and then, having bled a good deal, had a handkerchief pushed in under his clothes, to cover the wound till it

[1] This Prince of Hesse Darmstadt was a distinguished soldier, who commanded the army in Ireland for a short time, when King William left it, and distinguished himself at the battle of Aghrim. He afterwards went to Spain, became a Roman Catholic, and defended Barcelona in 1695. This is probably the same Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, who commanded the troops when Sir George Rooke took Gibraltar, and who, sharing in Lord Peterborough's most daring, but successful enterprise on Fort Mountjouie, was killed there. He appears to have commanded the 6th regiment of foot from 1691 to 1694.

should be dressed. . It was for some time believed by the army that the King was killed, and Earl Selkirk[1], who was with [the] King, and from whom I had these particulars, galloped to Count Solms[2], who had been upon the head of the foot, whom he found lying upon his face on the ground, crying, and told him the King was well. He would not believe him, till Selkirk asked him if he did not see, who it was that came riding along the line on a black horse; and then the Count embraced him in a transport of joy. The Count loved the King much, and [was] esteemed by him. The wound kept open above three months, mattered much, and did the King so much good, that he had much better health than usual, and was the reason why his physicians made him put [an] issue into his shoulder after, which did him much good. Providence, if attended to, must be admired, and reverenced. • •

The King, when he was ill used in England, as, to our shame, he often was, said, 'Well! they use 'me very ill; but my head will be short while under 'ground, 'till they would be glad to scratch me out 'again with their nails;' which did not fail to hap-

[1] The Earl of Selkirk commanded a regiment. He was a Lord of the Bedchamber to King William, and in the three following reigns.

[2] Count Solms had for a short time the command of the army, when King William left Ireland in 1690. The loss of the battle of Steenkirk, in 1692, was imputed to his failing to support the vanguard, in which the British troops were engaged. He was mortally wounded at the battle of Landen in the following year.

pen often since. He used to say upon those occasions, 'I am a protestant, so cannot; but if I was 'popish, I would leave this people to themselves.'

Alexander Viscount Polwarth[1] *to her Royal Highness, Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover.*

Edinburgh, January 6th, 1714.

Madam,

I have the honor of your Royal Highness's letter of the 19th of December last.

I am under all possible ties both of duty and inclination to your Highness's service, and shall not fail on all occasions to promote your interest, and that of your most illustrious descendants, to the utmost of my power in the manner most agreeable to your Royal Highness, and as I shall have the happiness to receive your commands.

I am with greatest respect and truth, &c.

[1] Alexander Lord Polwarth visited the Court of Hanover in 1712, in order to learn whether the reports disseminated, that it was indifferent to the reversion of the British Crown, were well-founded, as they had been industriously circulated, to the embarrassment of the friends of the Revolution. He entered into correspondence with it on his return; a few of the letters are here given. It appears, that the reports in question were not without foundation, as far as George the First, then Elector of Hanover, was concerned; but that on the death of his mother, the Electress, he inherited her anxious earnestness to obtain the rich prize set before him, new circumstances having generated new views and feelings.

Monsieur Robethon[1] *to the Viscount Polwarth from Hanover.*

[Extract.]

H. le 16 Févr. 1714.

Pendant que la Reyne est dans un estat languissant, et douteux, nous croyons avoir plus grand besoin de nos amis dans la Grande Bretagne qu'icy. Et s'il arrivoit, que Dieu la retirast à luy, j'espère, que nos amis en Ecosse prendront pour leur seureté les mesures necessaires pour résister aux 'Highlanders,' et se mettront en estat d'attendre le secours, qu'on ne manquera pas de leur envoyer, s'ils en ont besoin.

Desjà les Hollandois se remuent. Ils augmentent leurs troupes, qui estoient de 50 hommes, jusques à 80^{m}, et arment une escadre, le tout pour pouvoir s'opposer au Prétendant, au cas que la France voulust agir pour luy. Et cela se fait de concert avec nostre cour, qui est aussi de concert avec l'Empereur.

Vous aurez appris la rupture des conférences de Rastatt, et que tout se prépare pour une autre campagne au Rhin. Monseigneur l'Electeur y renvoye toutes ses troupes de bonne heure; et je puis vous assurer, my Lord, qu'il prend, pour le cas de la mort de la Reyne, toutes les mesures, qu'on peut

[1] Private Secretary to King William and to George the First, whom he accompanied to England, where he shewed himself intriguing and rapacious.

désirer de luy, et que cette grande affaire sera bien soutenue. On vous prie de le dire à nos amis pour les encourager.

Monsieur Robethon to the Viscount Polwarth from Hanover.

[Extract.]

H. 27 Mars, 1714.

Vostre obligeante lettre du 20-9 Fevr. m'a été bieu rendue en son temps avec le chiffre . . .

. . . . . .

On est ici d'opinion, que la paix conclue entre l'Empereur, l'Empire, et la France ne portera aucun préjudice à nostre succession, puisque la continuation de la guerre ne pouvoit être que très funeste à l'Empire. Les affaires du Nord auroient excité de nouveaux troubles dans ce voisinage cy, au lieu qu'à présent tout y sera tranquille. Et l'Empereur ayant les Pays Bas, oú il enverra un bon corps de troupes, entrant en liaison avec les Hollandois, et s'accommodant avec eux sur la Barrière, la Hollande séra en seureté, et la Barrière bien gardée; de sorte que si le Prétendant vouloit jamais tenter une invasion, la Hollande dans une telle situation sera plus hardie à agir pour nos intérets, qu'elle ne l'auroit esté, si la guerre eust continué sur le Rhin au désavantage de l'Empire, et que la barrière en Flandre

eust esté mal garnie. Nous espérons donc, que cette paix ne fera pas perdre courage à nos amis dans la Grande Bretagne.

Nous attendons icy M. Harley. Il estoit encore à la Haye le 20 . . . . . .

. . . . . .

Monsieur Robethon to Alexander Viscount Polwarth.

H. (Hanovre) le $\frac{22}{11}$ Juin, 1714.

My Lord,

Je me donne l'honneur de vous communiquer la copie d'une lettre, que j'écrivis Mardy dernier à un de mes amis à Londres. Je dois y adjouter en confidence, que ce fut Madame l'Electrice, qui, de sa seule teste, et sans en parler ni à Monseigneur l'Electeur, ni à aucun de ses ministres, écrivit au Baron de Schutz de demander le 'writ' pour le Prince Electoral; à quoi M. de Schutz ne put pas se dispenser d'obéir, estant envoyé de Madame l'Electrice tout de mesme que de Monseigneur l'Electeur, et ayant d'elle des lettres de creánce, et des instructions. Vous savez les suites, qu'a eues cette affaire, et que la cour de la Reyne ayant esté défendue á M. de Schutz, il est revenu icy. Il ne faut donc pas s'étonner, Mylord, que cette démarche de demander le 'writ' s'estant faite à l'insçu de Monseigneur l'Electeur, il n'ait pas pu se résoudre

d'abord à envoyer le Prince en Angleterre. Il en auroit pourtant pris la résolution à la fin, si les lettres menaçantes de la Reyne, et la mort de Madame l'Electrice n'estoient survenues, ce qui a changé tout le système; de sorte qu'on ne pourra songer au voyage du Prince que vers la session prochaine. En attendant, son Altesse Electorale envoye Monsieur le Baron de Bothmer résider en Angleterre, ce qui sera fort agréable aux amis, que nous y avons, et fort capable de les encourager. Par le mémoire délivré icy au Sieur Harley à son départ, Monseigneur l'Electeur demande à sa Majesté, 1°, de faire travailler à faire esloigner le Prétendant jusques en Italie; 2°, d'establir dans la Grande Bretagne un Prince de la maison Electorale; 3°, de fixer une pension au plus proche successeur; 4°, de donner les titres affectés aux princes du sang à Monseigneur l'Electeur, et aux autres Princes protestans de sa maison, qui n'en ont point encore. Sur tout cela nous n'avons encore aucune réponse; mais on dit, que M. Clarendon nous en apportera.

Nous avons advis d'Augsbourg, que M. Middleton[1] y a passé allant en diligence à Vienne trouver l'Empereur de la part du Prétendant. Nous tâcherons de pénétrer ce qu'il y veut faire.

[1] For the objects of Mr. Henley's mission to Hanover, see Coxe's Marlborough.

[2] Lord Middleton emigrated with James the Second. This Mr. Middleton was probably one of his sons. They were both taken in the French attempted invasion of Scotland in 1708, but liberated by Queen Anne.

On ne peut pas avoir plus d'ardeur pour une affaire, que n'en a Monseigneur le Prince-Electoral pour celle d'Angleterre. Et comme il est à présent fort bien auprès de Monseigneur l'Electeur, son père, et qu'il va se fixer à Herrenhausen pour y demeurer avec luy, j'attends de très bons effets de cette union, que nous avons si long temps désirée, et surtout par rapport à la grande affaire de la succession.

Nous avons icy depuis 5 ou 6 jours Sir Gustavus Hume vostre parent, homme d'esprit, et de mérite. Je suis bien faché, qu'il soit venu dans la triste conjoncture de la mort de Madame l'Electrice, qui oblige nos Princes à se tenir dans la retraite. Il les verra pourtant demain, jour auquel ils commenceront à se montrer, voulant partir le lendemain pour aller à Pyrmont boire les eaux. Et ce mesme jour, Sir Gustavus reprendra le chemin d'Aix la Chapelle. Noûs avons bû ensemble à vostre santé.

J'ai esté occupé ces jours cy à traduire la lettre de sa Majesté à l'Assemblée Générale de l'Eglise d'Ecosse, et la belle réponse de cette assemblée à la dite lettre, aussi bien que son adresse à la Reyne. Rien n'est plus fort pour l'interest de la succession d'Hanovre que ces deux pièces. Aussi ont-elles esté très agréables à nos Princes, et à son Excellence, Monsieur de Bernstorff[1], nostre digne premier

[1] The noble family of the Bernstorffs migrated many ages ago from Bavaria to Meklenburgh, and retains now its possessions in the Grand Duchy of Meck-

ministre, et le plus grand appuy à cette cour cy de l'affaire de la succession. Nous devons estre d'autant plus obligés à vos dignes patriotes, qu'ils agissent par les motifs du zèle le plus pur, n'ayant pas assurément esté encouragés de nostre part, comme ils auroient dû l'estre, et comme je l'aurois bien voulu. Mais il y a icy des mal-intentionnés, qui rendent tout difficile. Je puis pourtant vous assurer, Mylord, 1°, que nos Princes sont tout-à fait disposés à faire redresser les justes griefs des Ecossois, et mesme par rapport à l'union, lorsqu'ils seront en estat de le faire d'une manière légale et parlementaire; 2°, on connoist icy le zèle des presbyteriens d'Ecosse pour la succession; et nous ne ferons à cet égard aucune différence entre ceux, qui ont presté le serment, et ceux qui l'ont refusé, estant parfaitement instruits du motif, qui fait agir ces derniers, qui n'est qu'une délicatesse de conscience; 3°, nous sommes en particulier très-bien informés du zèle de Monsieur le Comte de Buchan, auquel Madame l'Electrice avoit résolu d'écrire pour l'en remercier; mais la mort l'a prévenue. Si ce Seigneur et son oncle, le Colonel Jean Everskin[1], sont de votre connoissance, vous nous obligerez fort, Mylord, de leur faire remarquer l'attention, qu'on a icy, pour leur activité, et pour leurs bons services.

lenburgh Schwerin. It is remarkable, that whilst they have thus remained Mecklenburghers, one of the branches of the family has furnished a minister to Hanover, and the other ministers to Denmark, and to Prussia.

[1] Erskine.

On nous a aussi fait part de la belle résolution du Synode de Perth, et de Stirling, du 15 Avril 1714.

J'espère, que nos bons amis d'Ecosse entretiendront correspondance avec le Baron de Bothmer, et le consulteront dans les occasions qui le mériteront. C'est un ministre également habile, et bien-intentionné.

Je voudrois bien aussi, que tous les dignes membres de la société d'Edinbourg, qui travaillent à notre grande affaire avec tant d'ardeur, et qui s'employent à tenir bien unis ensemble les bien-intentionnés des diverses parties de l'Ecosse, voulussent se tenir assurés de la reconnoissance de notre cour, et combien elle est sensible à tant de témoignages réitérés de leur zèle.

Soyez persuadé, Mylord, qu'on vous distingue, comme vous le méritez; et je puis vous assurer, que Monseigneur le Prince parle souvent de vous avec de très grands éloges, ce qu'il a fait encore ces jours passés. Je vous prie de me conserver l'honneur de vos bonnes graces, et d'estre persuadé du respect, avec lequel je suis,

Mylord,

Votre très humble

Et très obéissant serviteur,

V. R.

Si le Sieur Fergusson passe icy en revenant de Vienne, nous serons sur nos gardes à son égard, comme nous le devons. Vous y pouvez compter.

Inclosure in the preceding Letter.

H. le $\frac{8}{19}$ Juin 1714.

Mylord,

Je n'ai pas eu l'honneur de répondre à la lettre du 26 Avril, dont votre Excellence[1] m'a honoré, voulant attendre ce qui seroit décidé touchant le voyage de Monseigneur le Prince, chacun s'estant employé ici pour y faire consentir Monseigneur l'Electeur. Il paroissoit fort ébranlé, et nous en espérions une bonne issue, lorsque des lettres de la Reyne, datées du $\frac{10}{30}$ May, arrivèrent icy par un messager de l'office, par lesquelles elle écrivoit à Monseigneur l'Electeur, qu'*elle regarderoit le voyage du Prince comme un attentat contre son autorité, et qu'elle s'y opposeroit en toutes manières, quelques funestes suites que cela pust avoir.* Les lettres de sa Majesté à Madame l'Electrice, et au Prince, estoient du même style ; de sorte qu'il n'y avoit plus moyen d'envoyer le Prince en Angleterre sans rompre ouvertement avec sa Majesté, et sans mettre tout dans la confusion. La mort subite de Madame l'Electrice arrivée trois jours après la réception de ces lettres (et que quelques-uns attribuent au chagrin, qu'elle en avoit conçu) a achevé de rompre tout-à-fait pour le présent le voyage du Prince

[1] The title of Excellency, given by M. Robethon, leads to the conclusion, that the person he addresses had been a Minister of State.

Electoral. Mais cette mort a produit deux heureux effects ; le premier, une reconciliation sincère entre le père, et le fils, qui sont à présent dans la plus étroite intelligence ; le second, une grande attention de la part de Monseigneur l'Electeur aux affaires de l'Angleterre, auxquelles il a beaucoup travaillé depuis la mort de Madame sa mère ; et à présent, qu'il est le plus proche du trône, il paroit en faire le cas, qu'il mérite.

Monseigneur l'Electeur a déjà ordonné au Résident Kreyenberg de demander, que son nom fût substitué à celui de Madame l'Electrice dans les prières publiques, ce qui ne me paroit pas pouvoir recevoir de difficulté. Monseigneur l'Electeur signe toujours 'George Louis;' mais comme en Angleterre la coûtume est de ne mettre qu'un seul nom dans les prières, il préfère celui de George.

Je suis impatient d'apprendre, si, sur la nouvelle de la mort de nôtre bonne Electrice, les deux Chambres ne présenteront pas à la Reyne des adresses de condoléance, y insérant quelque chose en faveur de la succession, et demandant pour Monseigneur l'Electeur un titre Anglois, ce qui ne me paroit pas pouvoir luy estre refusé. Il l'a demandé dans le mémoire, qu'il a fait délivrer au Sieur Harley. Enfin, Mylord, nous espérons, que nos amis ne perdront point courage. Tout en sera mieux soutenu à présent, que Monseigneur l'Electeur est à la teste de cette grande affaire, et qu'il commence de la prendre à cœur, comme elle le mérite.

[*Memorial from Alexander Viscount Polwarth to George the First.*]

Au Roy[1].

Sire,

Le Comte de Marchmont, père de votre très humble suppliant, qui a l'honneur de représenter à votre Majesté, fit si tôt paroître son zêle pour l'intérest protestant, qu'il eut ses biens confisqués, et fut contraint de fuir, et de quitter son pays, pour s'estre opposé à la succession du Duc d'York à la couronne; depuis lors il se dévoua toujours au même intérest; il fut Chancelier d'Ecosse pendant le règne du Roy Guillaume; après la mort duquel, et dans la première année du règne de la Reine Anne, son emploi lui fut ôté, parcequ'il avoit proposé en parlement, que l'on fît un acte pour faire prêter le serment d'abjuration; lequel acte n'auroit pas manqué de se faire, si le ministère d'alors n'eut pas sur le champ ajourné le parlement, afin de l'empêcher: après avoir été démis de son emploi, il ne reçut aucune marque de reconnaissance ni faveur ordinaire, qui

[1] The draught of this memorial has no date. It must have been drawn up by Alexander Viscount Polwarth, who afterwards succeeded to his father's title, on the accession of George the First to the throne. Had the rebellion of 1715 taken place, when it was written, he of course would not have omitted to state the increased claim to royal favor, which he derived from the energetic and efficient measures taken by him as Lord Lieutenant of Berwickshire to aid in its suppression. It is to be observed, that he here states his father's opposition to the Duke of York's succession to the crown of Scotland to have been the cause of the persecution he endured.

marquât, que l'on eût aucun égard à ses longs et fidèles services.

Le suppliant a l'honneur de représenter à votre Majesté, qu'il a suivi les mêmes traces que son père, et qu'outre son application constante à favoriser les mêmes intérets ici dans ce pays, il entreprit dans un tems assez difficile un voyage à Hanôvre, afin de s'instruire des sentimens de cette cour au sujet de la succession, lesquels sentimens les ennemis de la dite cour avoient adroitement, et malignement représentés comme étant tout au plus indifférens; ce qu'il fit sans avoir d'autre vue, que celle de pouvoir servir cette illustre maison, et contribuer au bien de sa patrie; et par là il s'est rendu plus capable de servir à cet heureux établissement, lequel, graces à Dieu, est avenu. A son retour chez lui, tout son pays sçait, avec quelle fermeté il a agi pour cet intérêt dans les occurrences tant publiques, que particulières; il a encouragé, et conseillé la plupart de ceux, qui étoient portés pour la succession, et a été en grande partie la cause de tout ce, qui a été fait pour l'assurer, et pourvoir à sa défense. A mesure que le danger paroissoit s'approcher, il a travaillé à unir les esprits, et les sentimens de ceux, qui étoient bien-intentionnés, et à représenter le danger, où la succession pouvoit être; par ce moyen là ils furent portés à se munir d'armes, et se mirent en un assez bon état de défense, en cas que des ennemis eussent fait quelque tentative.

Le tout étant clair, comme il paroit par la cor-

respondance continuelle, que votre suppliant a tenue avec cette cour, les lettres qu'il a écrites, et celles qu'il en a reçues, il soumet très humblement tout ce que dessus à votre Majesté comme les motifs, qui lui font espérer sa faveur, et des marques de son estime.

From Sir Gustavus Hume[1] *to Alexander Viscount Polwarth.*

[Extract.]

London, January 21st, 1717-18.

My dear Lord Polwarth,

I wish I could send you any news from hence that would be agreeable to you. The prospect of an accommodation is now, I think, as remote as ever; though lately there seemed to be a great tendency that way; and great hopes were conceived from some meetings between Monsieur Bernstorff and the Speaker of the House of Commons; but that is all over, and the Prince removes the latter end of this week from Albemarle-street to a house, he has bought in Leicester Fields joining to Leicester-House,

[1] An extract of a letter from Sir Gustavus Hume, announcing to Alexander Lord Polwarth the difference, which arose between George the First and the Prince of Wales, has been already given. Extracts of this and of the next letter are printed, because the first of them states an early attempt made to effect a reconciliation, and the second announces a happy termination of an unfortunate state of things which had already existed at Hanover in Queen Anne's time. See p. 401, 404, 405.

which last falls likewise to him Lady-day next. The little Princesses (who went every evening to their mother) are now restrained with the young Prince, their brother, from going any more without the King's special order. The same day that this order was delivered and put in execution, his Majesty, as it were by way of compensation, diverted himself above an hour in the nursery, which he had not before visited since the separation. It is talked of, though I hope without any truth, that Mademoiselle Gemingheim and others are to be removed from about their Highnesses. The King looks as cheerful, and acts with the same steady undisturbed mind, as if everything obeyed his nod. His Majesty is to be to-night at the Masquerade; but I cannot learn, whether the Prince is to be there or no.

From Sir Gustavus Hume to Alexander Viscount Polwarth.

[Extract.]

London, April 25th, 1720.

I do most heartily congratulate my dear Lord Polwarth upon the happy reconciliation between the King and the Prince. This matter has been upon the tapis for some time, but has been carried on so privately, that the Prince's waiting on the King last Saturday was a surprise almost to all the

world. He came about three in the afternoon, and was immediately admitted into the King's closet; but I very much wondered, that the audience did not last above half a minute. His Royal Highness appeared yesterday at chapel, and afterwards at court in the same manner he has formerly done; and the King carries to him just as heretofore. I am told, that the peace-makers (for whom the blessing is in store) are my Lord Sunderland[1], Lord Stanhope[2], and Craggs[3], of the one side; and [the] Duke of Devonshire, Lord Cowper, and Lord Townshend, of the other. These three last named Lords, together with Mr. Walpole and Mr. Methuen, went in a body yesterday morning into the King's closet; and afterwards the Duke of Devonshire carried the sword before his Majesty to chapel. Yesterday all the Prince's court were at St. James's, and to-day all the ministers and chief officers went to Leicester Fields to return the compliment, and were graciously received by the Prince. People begin already to talk of changes at court; but since I have but weak authority for what I have heard of that kind, I will not trouble your Lordship with particulars. I suppose, the Princess of Wales will not appear in public, till her daughter, the Princess Anne, has recovered the small-pox, of which there is a very good probability, this being the seventh day, attended with all the good symptoms that could be wished for.

[1] First Lord of the Treasury. [2] Secretary of State for the Home Department.
[3] Secretary of State for the Foreign Department.

George Baillie, Esq. to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

June 15th, 1727.

D. B[1].

It is with great grief and concern, that I am to tell you of our most excellent King's death. The melancholy news came by express yesterday. He had been ill at sea, and continued so on the road, but would not stop. On Friday night he was taken with a severe purging and great sweating, which weakened him much. He would however go on; and upon Saturday lost his speech and the power of one side, but still made signs with his hand to proceed, and in the evening arrived at Osnaburg, where he died about one o'clock Sunday morning, a fatal day, were we not happy in the Prince his successor. He came to Leicester House last evening, where there was a great concourse of people to kiss his hand. The council met; and this day the King was proclaimed. The parliament, having likewise met, and qualified, were prorogued by commission to the 27th instant. You know, by the articles they are to continue only six months, and may be sooner dissolved. I doubt not, that all hands will be at work for a new parliament. I dare

[1] The letters D. B. are an abbreviation of Dear Brother. This account of the death of George the First differs in some particulars from that found in Coxe's Walpole.

not take it upon me to advise you; but in my poor opinion it would be right for you to be here at this juncture. If your health permit, the coming on horseback will make the greatest dispatch[1].

[MEMORANDUM[2].]

Sir Robert Walpole was the first, who received the news of the King's death, and went from the Treasury to Chelsea, where he took his coach and six, and went to Richmond. When he came there, the Prince and Princess were asleep. He had them wakened; as soon as the Princess saw Sir Robert, she swooned away, thinking he was come to tell her that Princess Emilia was dead.

The next day the Prince was proclaimed King. As Sir Robert and the Duke of Newcastle came from the ceremony, the coach broke down.

Sir Robert went to the King as usual, but could not see him immediately; so turning from the door he saw Mr. Pulteney.

[1] Within less than a century from the date of this letter, the mail coach from London to Edinburgh performed its journey in forty-five hours. It appears from a letter of the Duke of Montrose's, that a messenger rode from Redbraes in Berwickshire to London in three days and a-half.

[2] This memorandum of occurrences, which took place immediately after the death of George the First, is amongst the papers of Alexander Earl of Marchmont. It was probably sent to him in Scotland from London.

It is thought, my Lord Carteret will be made Secretary of State, in the place of the Duke of Newcastle; and the latter Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in case the King forgets what has passed.

The Portugal Envoy told me, that Mr. Stanhope's Italian Abbé[1] said, that my Lord Marchmont was to go first Ambassador to the Congress, which made Mr. Stanhope uneasy, that he should be but second.

My Lord Malpas went to the King to receive orders about the robes; the King answered, 'I have taken care of that.' Mr. Schutz is to be Master of the Robes.

Mr. Horace Walpole[2] is come from Paris. I wonder, if he had orders so to do.

My Lord Lechmere died suddenly on Sunday after dinner. Some say, Mr. Spencer Cowper is to succeed him as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Some say, my Lady Portland will be removed from the young Princesses, and the Countess of Piebourg made their Lady of Honor.

My Lord Grantham is made Chamberlain to the Queen, and the Duke of St. Albans her Master of the Horse.

[1] Probably the Abbé Paretti. See the next page.

[2] Mr. Walpole, then Ambassador at Paris, returned without leave or orders so to do; but he did so at the suggestion of Cardinal Fleury. There is in Coxe's 'Memoirs of Horatio Lord Walpole' an interesting account of his reception by George the Second, and of the effect which his communications, together with other circumstances, produced upon the mind of the King in favor of Sir Robert Walpole, who was then in the crisis of his fate.

The late Lady Arlington's lodgings were offered to put the Duchess of Kendal's baggage in.

Mr. Hope[1] told me, he thought the present ministry had got leave of the late King to communicate what passed to the present King, when he was Prince; for he, Mr. Hope, one morning gave my Lord Townshend[2] a paper to shew the late King; and he saw the Prince give that paper to my Lord Scarborough, to be returned to my Lord Townshend.

Dr. Friend, it is said, is made first physician to the King.

From the Abbé Paretti[3] to Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

[A translated Extract.]

September 3d, 1728.

Although I do not hear from you, I shall have the honor to inform you of the flight of M. de Ripperda,

[1] Dutch Envoy.

[2] Lord Townshend was Secretary of State from 1721 to 1730.

[3] The writer was a Sicilian Abbot, who communicated intelligence regularly to Alexander Earl of Marchmont during the Congress of Cambray, and who afterwards continued so to do from Spain for the benefit of the British government, and in consideration of a stipend from it.

who escaped from the Castle of Segovia, on the 2d instant, intelligence of which was not received here until the 10th, in consequence of the governor of the castle having thought fit, on his own authority, and with his very limited powers, to take measures to get hold of him, before he communicated the event to the court; and this delay afforded to the prisoner the time required for getting beyond the frontiers. The governor may now seek to imitate his example, for he is shut up in his stead. The court has sent off a request to the King of Portugal to beg him to have him apprehended, should he have taken refuge in his kingdom. And letters have been written to all the foreign ministers, who are at Madrid, desiring them to inform their respective sovereigns of this escape, and to request them to give him up if he is found in their states. . . . (Cypher.) . . . The governor of the castle being a near relation of the Marquis de la Paix, and a man of a good understanding, it was at first believed, that this escape was concerted with the court; but this over-refined supposition is given up; and it is supposed to have been a matter of chance, as has happened in a thousand other cases.

Memorandum[1] *in the handwriting of Alexander Earl of Marchmont.*

December, 1732.

Those, who met with the Dissenters about the Sacramental Test at Sir Robert Walpole's.

Earl Wilmington	Lord Harrington
Duke of Devonshire	Sir Robert Walpole
Duke of Newcastle	The Speaker
Earl of Scarborough	

Memorandum in the handwriting of Alexander Earl of Marchmont.

London, March 18th, 1732-3.

I was this day witness to Sarah Duchess of Marlborough her signing, declaring, and publishing her will of thirty-one sheets of paper, and a codicil of

[1] In a note in Mr. Rose's hand-writing, subjoined to the paragraph in Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole (4to edition, vol. i. p. 476), in which he gives an account of a motion made in the House of Commons for the repeal of the Test Act in March 1736, and successfully resisted by Lord Robert Walpole, this Memorandum is cited in proof, that there must have been some previous consideration about the repeal of that act.

five sheets, in Marlborough House, St. James's, Benjamin, Bishop of Sarum, John Sambruck, Esq., and I, signed, witnesses to them.

March 24th, 1732-3.

Her Grace, the Duchess of Marlborough, read to me this day a good many letters from Queen Mary, when Princess of Orange, and when queen; and from Queen Anne, when Princess of Denmark, and when queen, and from Lord Godolphin, by the queen's order to her grace, which shew, how much she was in favor with the sisters; how desirous she was to quit the Princess of Denmark's service, upon the breach, which this princess would not hear of; how great her favor was with the Princess Ann, who, when she had but 50,000*l.* in all, gave her daughter Bridgewater 5000*l.* upon her marriage, and would have given her 10,000*l.*, if the Duchess would have accepted it. When queen, she made the Earl of Marlborough a duke against the duchess's sentiments and desire. and with exceeding kind and familiar letters to her, under the name of Freeman, and took the name of Morely to herself; though after, upon the duchess her supporting the interest of the Whigs, she lost her favor by the cunning and intrigues of the Tories and Mrs. Masham. One of the first instances of it was her refusing to put on the jewels the duchess had made

up for her, to go to St. Paul's, upon a thanksgiving for a victory of the Duke of Marlborough. In some of the Princess Anne's letters King William is called Dutch monster; and the queen in several of them shews her inclination to the Tories. Prince George was much neglected by King William, while in Ireland with him; was not taken into the king's coach with him, though others were, and never mentioned while there; was not taken to Flanders; nor allowed to go a volunteer to sea.

END OF VOLUME THE SECOND.

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WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

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